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LEAGUE OF
THE EMPIRE TEXT-BOOKS

II

League of the Empire Text-Books

GRADED SERIES

(SPITZEL IMPERIAL EDUCATION TRUST)

EDITED BY PROFESSOR A. F. POLLARD, M.A.

Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; Professor of English History in the University of London

I

THE BRITISH EMPIRE: ITS PAST, ITS PRESENT, AND ITS FUTURE

By various writers

II

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ITS HISTORY

By EDWARD G. HAWKE, B.A.

III

THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE

By GERALD T. HANKIN, M.A.

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR : THE "VICTORY" BREAKING THE LINE.
From a contemporary print after the original by Huggins.

Frontispiece.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AND

ITS HISTORY

BY EDWARD G. HAWKE, B.A.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD: EXAMINER IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

(PUBLISHED FOR THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE)

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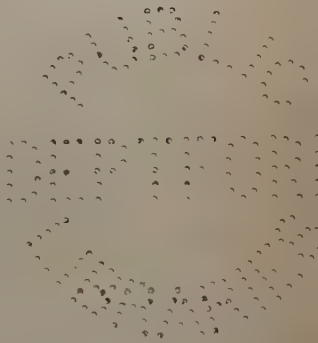

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SAMUEL L. SPITZEL, Esq.

PREFATORY NOTE

THE origin, scope, and aims of the League of the Empire Text-Books, for which financial provision was made by the late Mr. Louis Spitzel, have been explained in the Preface to the first volume of the series, which was published by the League two years ago. That volume was intended for the general adult reader, for students in colleges and Universities, and for teachers in schools; the present, which is the second of the series, and is based on the first, is designed for use as a text-book by students in the higher forms of schools. If ever a common Matriculation or School-leaving Examination be established for the whole Empire, it is hoped that this volume will supply the kind of history of which a knowledge would naturally be expected by the examiners. A third volume, suitable for use in the junior forms of schools, will shortly be published.

For permission to reproduce various illustrations, the grateful acknowledgments of the League are due to His Majesty the King; to the Lord Great

Chamberlain; to the High Commissioner for New Zealand; to the Royal United Service Institution; to Messrs. Elliott and Fry; and to Messrs. Ginn and Co.; and for other assistance to Colonel Leatham, Secretary of the Royal United Service Institution, and to the authorities of the British Museum Print Room. The line drawings have been done by Mr. E. P. Allinson, and the investigation connected with their selection by Miss E. Lyall.

A. F. P.

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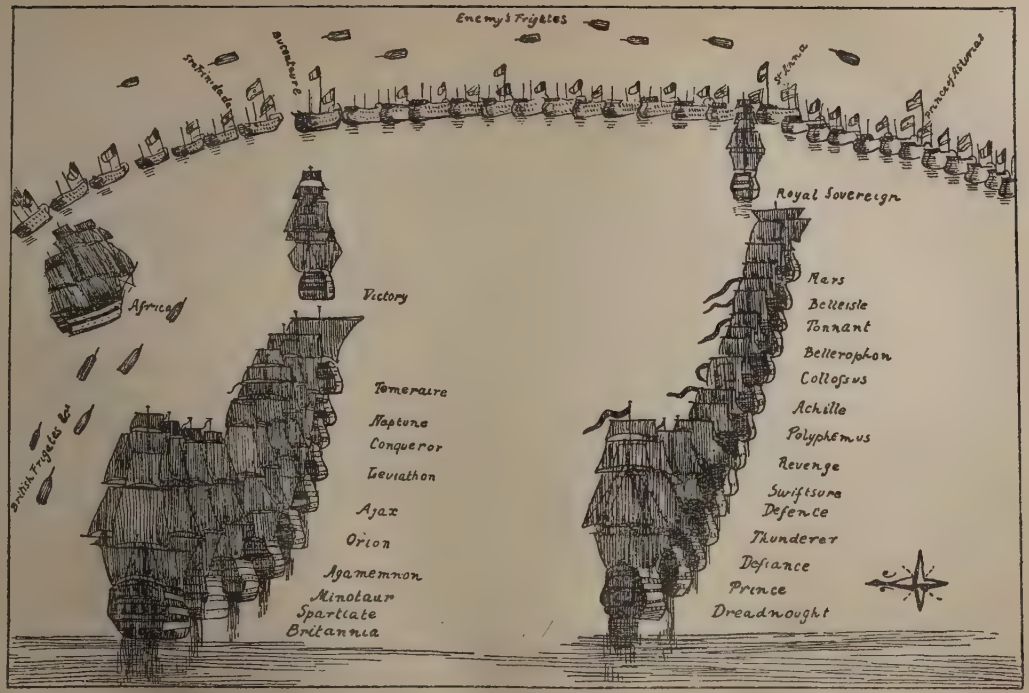
BOOK I

THE BRITISH ISLES



PLAN OF NELSON'S ATTACK ON THE COMBINED FLEET AT TRAFALGAR.

Taken from *The London Gazette*, October 21, 1805.

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

WHAT THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS

THE British Empire is the most remarkable fact in modern history. It has been created mainly within the last century and a half, by the energy and political genius of the people of Great Britain and Ireland. Those two small islands in the North Sea have gradually extended their rule over countries in all parts of the world, whether by settlement, by peaceful annexation, or by conquest, until now the United Kingdom is the political centre of an Empire nearly a hundred times as large in area, and nearly ten times as populous, as the mother-country.

A World-Power.

The British Empire comprises possessions in every continent. It has outposts in Europe. It owns in Asia the vast dependency of India, the Malay States, and small but very important stations in China. It controls in Africa almost the whole southern portion of the continent, and vast regions on both the east and west of tropical Africa; while the whole Nile Valley is administered jointly for the King and the Khedive of Egypt. The northern half of North America is British, together with many of the West Indian islands; and there are British colonies in

Central and South America. In the Pacific, the whole of the great island continent of Australia, the smaller island group forming New Zealand, part of New Guinea, and numerous scattered islands, pertain to the Empire. A chain of island-colonies and coaling-stations in the chief trade-routes is drawn round the world to link up the various parts of this great system. The total area is estimated at about 11,500,000 square miles, whereas that of the United Kingdom is but 121,000 square miles.

Many Climates.

Within the Empire may be found every kind of climate and every variety of scenery. The Polar lands of North America are technically British territory; there is an arguable case for holding the North Pole itself, if it were situated on land and not a mere point in a frozen sea, to be included among them. The South Polar continent, too, might be claimed as British by right of prior discovery, if its ice-bound solitudes were worth claiming. Large portions of the Empire lie within the tropics. The dense steaming forests of Ashanti and Uganda, the rice-fields of Burma, the primeval jungle of North Borneo and New Guinea, the sugar-plantations of Queensland and the West Indies, play a most important part in the Empire's trade. But the great self-governing communities that make the Empire what it is lie for the most part within the temperate zones. Canada, South Africa, most of Australia, New Zealand, like Great Britain, are all blessed with a good climate, neither too hot nor too cold, in which the British race can thrive. They have the advantage, also, of being countries that were never developed until they were colonized.

PREVAILING RELIGIONS
OF
THE WORLD
Christians
Buddhists
Mohammedans
Confucians
Brahmans
Other religions
ARCTIC OCEAN
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
SOUTHERN OCEAN
Greenland
NORTH AMERICA
Dominion of Canada
United States
SOUTH AMERICA
EUROPE
Russia
Russian Empire
Siberia
ASIA
Chinese Empire
Persia
India
AFRICA
AUSTRALIA
OCEANIA
ANTARCTICA
Long.W.of Gr. 0 Long.E.of Gr.
Outward Route
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Antarctic Circle
Arctic Circle
Equator

The natives, even in South Africa, were not numerous enough to fill the lands they occupied. Canada, Australia, and even New Zealand, had to all intents and purposes lain waste through the ages, awaiting the advent of the European settler.

Still more varied than the climate and scenery are the peoples living under the British flag. Between the Australian blackfellow and the Eskimo of Labrador, on the one hand, and the highly educated inhabitant of London or Ottawa or Melbourne, on the other, there lie many centuries of evolution. Every rise in the long scale of civilization, of which these represent the two extreme limits, may be typified in some race to be found within the borders of the Empire. The Indians of Canada are in the hunting stage of man's development; the Mashona of Rhodesia are a pastoral people, who used to wander from place to place, and are only now learning the advantages of settled habits; India is for the most part a land of small cultivators, toiling incessantly each on his little patch of ground. In India, too, the home of a very ancient civilization, the old handicrafts are still practised as they were in medieval Europe. The change from the old industrial system to the new may also be seen in progress in the great Indian cities, which are rivals of the manufacturing centres of Northern England or of Eastern Canada.

Many Races.

Yet again, of the 400,000,000 people living in the Empire, 340,000,000 are non-European. This stupendous total comprises an incredible number of diverse races. In India alone a hundred and fifty different languages are spoken, and the distinct races

are probably more numerous still. British Africa includes an equal variety of peoples, such as the primitive pagans of the Niger Delta, the well-developed and comparatively civilized Hausas of the Upper Niger, the degraded Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert and the competent Basuto farmers, the fierce Masai of East Africa and the naked Dinkas of the Upper Nile swamps. In the Far East and the Pacific, again, the Malay and the Chinese, the Fijian and the Maori, are all distinctive types. So, too, are the West Indian negroes and the natives of the Guiana forests. Even the European population of the Empire is by no means homogeneous in race. Like that of Great Britain itself, it has been recruited at various times from various European nations, especially France, Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia, as well as from the mother-country. Such a medley of peoples was never before united under one political system.

Many Forms of Rule.

It follows that every kind of political organization has had to be utilized to suit the needs of the various races and communities in the Empire. Great Britain and the great self-governing colonies are democracies ; but India is under a benevolent despotism, partly direct and partly exercised through the native Princes. The older Crown colonies are ruled by Governors, who are usually assisted by legislative councils on which the colonists have some representatives, whether elected as in Malta, or nominated by the Governor as in Mauritius. The newer and more uncivilized regions of the Empire, such as East and West Africa and the Malay States, are ruled as protectorates, in which, under the

absolute control of a British Governor and his officials, the native chiefs retain in a varying degree their local authority. In the case of Egypt there is no protectorate, but the administration is supervised and controlled in every detail through the British Consul-General at Cairo, under whom, again, is the Governor-General, exercising supreme authority in the British-Egyptian Sudan. As a field for experiments in the art of governing, the British Empire is unrivalled.

Enough has been said to show the vastness and the complexity of our world-wide Empire, with its myriad peoples united in loyalty to a common throne under a common flag. In the following pages we shall see how the Empire took its rise, how it is organized from its centre in London, how each part of the Empire is governed in detail, and how it contributes to the general prosperity.

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL FEATURES

THE British Isles owe much of their modern prosperity to their geographical position. They lie off the north-western coasts of Europe, commanding all the northern trade-routes from the Old World to the New. Before America was discovered, the British Isles were on the fringe of civilization. Nowadays they are in the centre of the world's commerce.

Sea-Frontiers.

England, the southern portion of the island called Great Britain, is separated from the mainland of France by the English Channel. At its south-eastern extremity the Straits of Dover, only twenty-one miles wide, divide it from the French coast. In a former geological epoch the two countries were connected by land at this point. The western end of the Channel, opening on the Atlantic, is 100 miles across. On the eastern side of Great Britain lies the North Sea, forming its natural frontier towards Holland, Germany, and Scandinavia. The North Sea is about 400 miles wide, but narrows towards the north and the south. Eastern England and Holland are about 225 miles apart ; between North-Eastern Scotland and Norway the distance is a little greater. The North Sea is comparatively

shallow, and therefore has most valuable fisheries, which have for ages given employment and food to the dwellers on its coasts. Its breadth and the storms for which it is noted have in the past made it a barrier against sudden invasion, but not by any means an insurmountable obstacle to resolute invaders like the Saxons, Danes, and Dutch. On the north, Great Britain and its outlying island-groups, the Orkneys and Shetlands, look towards the Arctic. On the west is the Atlantic Ocean. Two overlapping lines of islands, the Outer and Inner Hebrides, protect the western coast of Scotland, the northern part of Great Britain. Farther south lies the great island of Ireland, which with Great Britain makes up the United Kingdom. Between Ireland and Great Britain is the shallow Irish Sea, narrowing on the north to the North Channel between Ireland and Southern Scotland, and on the south to St. George's Channel between Ireland and Wales. South-Western Ireland is the most westerly part of Europe, and its chief harbour, Queenstown, is the last port of call for British mail-steamers crossing to America.

Temperate Climate.

The British Isles lie wholly within the temperate zone, between the 50th and 60th degrees of north latitude. The climate is rendered still more equable by the influence of the warm Gulf Stream, which flows from across the Atlantic round the western and southern coasts, and gives the country a milder winter than is enjoyed by other countries in a similar latitude. The sea-breezes bring abundant rain to fertilize the soil, which has long been famous for its crops.

The islands are distinguished for the variety of their physical features. Scotland is chiefly mountainous, with a narrow plain across the centre and along the eastern coast. Northern England has a backbone of high hills, sinking into a central plain. To the west of this is the mountainous country of Wales, and to the south are lower ridges, which rise on the south-west into the hilly plateau of Dartmoor. The eastern and southern coasts of England are, with some exceptions, flat. They contain numerous estuaries which, facing the continent of Europe, have always been highways of sea-borne trade, while at the same time their fertile plains have provided the agricultural exports by which England first achieved prosperity in the Middle Ages. For the same reason, successful invaders have almost always approached England from the east and south. Ireland is mainly a flat country, with two chief groups of mountains, one in the extreme north, and the other disposed across the south of the island from the Atlantic to the Irish Sea. Much of its surface, however, is covered with bog, which forms natural barriers that are as effective in their way as hills.

England and Wales.

The study of English geography, historically speaking, must begin with the south. The earliest traders visited South-Western England in search of tin. From a remote period, too, there must have been trade with the Continent by way of the Straits of Dover. Now, the southern coast, though lined in parts with lofty cliffs, is broken by many

natural harbours and river-mouths. Cornwall and Devon, in the extreme south-west, are hilly districts, sparsely populated in the interior, with most of their towns by the sea. Bodmin Moor, Dartmoor, and Exmoor, form an almost continuous high plateau filling the peninsula between the English and the Bristol Channels. The chief town is Plymouth, on its fine natural harbour, Plymouth Sound. Falmouth, a little farther west, and Penzance, near Land's End, are now the more important of other famous Western harbours, whence sailed the Elizabethan adventurers and their many successors. The West lay apart from the main stream of history until the sixteenth century.

Southern Hills.

Eastward from Devon low hill-ranges and plateaux radiate east and north-east. First come the Mendips, crossing the north-east of the peninsula, and forming a natural frontier to Somersetshire. North-east from this range the Cotswold Hills run to the Central Plain, with lower spurs that extend almost to the Fens on the east coast. Parallel to the Cotswolds, and farther east, are the lower hills known as the Chilterns. The Thames rises in the Cotswolds, and flows almost due east, past the Chilterns, to London and the sea. South of the Thames are the ranges of chalk downs, called Salisbury Plain, the North Downs, and the South Downs, which are the most striking feature of Southern England. The downs are pierced at a few points by river-valleys, in which towns sprang up both to profit by the trade passing along these natural routes and to serve as defensive posts. Salisbury on the Avon, Winchester on the Itchen and

Southampton at its mouth, Arundel on the Arun, and Lewes on the Ouse, all played a great part in English medieval history. The Itchen route to the Thames Valley was that which the Saxon invaders followed in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is becoming to-day, owing to the progress of modern Southampton, the chief route for travellers between London and America or Africa. Portsmouth, a little east of Southampton, has long been the chief naval station, protected by the Isle of Wight and the narrow channels between it and the mainland. At the eastern extremity of the downs lie Folkestone and Dover, the chief ports for cross-Channel services, and Deal, where it is thought that Cæsar landed in 55 B.C. The coast between Deal and the mouth of the Thames is protected by the Goodwin Sands, forming an anchorage in bad weather for vessels leaving or entering the port of London. North of the downs, towns like Rochester, on the Medway, were founded to guard the northern ends of the small river-valleys leading from the south into the Thames.

London. The Thames Estuary, facing the Continent, is the chief natural entrance to England. London grew up in very early times, before the Romans came, on high ground amidst marshes, at a point where the tidal river could easily be crossed. London Bridge was long the only structure of its kind on the Lower Thames, and the nearest ford, save that at Westminster, was many miles upstream. Hence all the roads from north and west, south and east, had to converge on London as the chief port for foreign commerce, and it became the natural centre of

medieval England. Winchester, the old capital of Wessex, had a traditional hold on the Saxon Kings, and was retained by the Normans and early Angevins owing to its nearness to their Continental possessions. But Westminster then replaced Winchester as the royal residence. William the Conqueror had long before shown his estimate of London's importance by fortifying the Tower and granting a charter to the city.

The Thames Valley. The Thames Valley and the valleys of its tributaries lead into the heart of England. The Lea, flowing from the Chilterns into the Thames below London Bridge, was of old a frontier between the Middle Saxons of Middlesex and the East Saxons of Essex. The next tributary upstream is the Wey, flowing from the North Downs, with Guildford to guard the pass. Farther upstream is Windsor, on a hill. Next is the Kennet, joining the Thames at Reading, an important centre. Wallingford, where William the Conqueror crossed the Thames on his march to London, is higher up, on the way to Oxford. There the Cherwell flows in from the north, giving ready access along its valley to the Midlands. Because of its central position, Oxford was chosen by Charles I. as his headquarters in the Civil War. The Cherwell and the Thames both rise in the Cotswolds; but while the Thames comes from the south end of that range, not far from the Severn Valley, the Cherwell rises to the north, near the sources of the rivers flowing into the North Sea. The Cotswolds have always been famous for their sheep pasture, and the woollen industry long flourished in this district.

North-east of London stretches the Eastern Plain,

embracing Essex and the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, which formed East Anglia. This is an undulating and fertile region, which grew rich in the Middle Ages by agriculture and the woollen trade, as Norwich Cathedral and many fine village churches testify. It is well watered, but the rivers are shallow.

The Central Plain.

To the westward of East Anglia, and formerly severed from it by the Fens bordering on the Wash, stretches the Central Plain. Four considerable rivers—the Witham, the Welland, Nen, and Great Ouse — flow across it from the Chilterns to the Wash. The Trent takes a circuitous course along the northern edge of the plain, and then flows north-east to the Humber. The Warwickshire Avon rises in the centre of the plain, and goes westward to the Severn Valley, passing Rugby and Warwick and Shakespeare's Stratford and Evesham. The hilly district to the north-west of the Avon has become in modern times the Black Country, a hive of industry fed by the Staffordshire coalfield, with Birmingham as its chief centre. Westward of this is the Severn, which flows eastward from the lofty Welsh mountains, and then southward to join the Avon and pass at Gloucester into the long and broad Severn Estuary, and so into the Bristol Channel. This estuary receives also from the north the Wye, which rises near the Severn and traverses the wild mining country of Dean Forest, and the Usk, with the great coal-exporting town of Newport at its mouth; while from the east comes the Gloucestershire Avon, past Bath and the old and famous port of Bristol.

Wales.

The Wye and Severn Valleys are the natural

routes from England into Wales. Hence Gloucester and Shrewsbury on the Severn, and Hereford and Ludlow on the Wye, were strongly fortified as bases for the defence of the English border, and for the gradual conquest of Wales by the Norman and Plantagenet Kings. Wales is almost entirely mountainous, save for a narrow plain on the south coast and the Pembroke peninsula, which was early colonized by Flemings. At the foot of the Brecon Beacons, in the south, lies the mining district, producing the best steam coal, which has made South Wales rich and famous. The coalpits and iron and steel works supply the world through the busy ports of Cardiff and Swansea. Central Wales, with lofty and picturesque mountains, of which Plynlimmon (2,468 feet) is the highest, is mainly given up to sheep-farming. North Wales, with the still higher mountains of the Snowdon group (3,560 feet), is also a pastoral region, with slate-quarries near Snowdon, and many pleasure-resorts on the coast. Here the last Llewelyn made his final stand for independence against Edward I. Off the north-western coast, and separated by the narrow Menai Strait, lies the island of Anglesey, sacred of old to the Druids.

East of Pennines.

Northward from the Central Plain runs the Pennine Range, dividing Northern England into two unequal parts To the east is the Lincolnshire plain, broken by the low Wolds, which is separated from the York Plain by the Humber Estuary. Into this estuary converge numerous rivers rising in the Pennines, and traversing the densely-populated manufacturing districts of the West Riding. The woollen industry began here in early times, as there

was abundant pasture for sheep on the hillsides. Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, were noted clothing towns in the days of the Stuarts. Proximity to the coalpits of Derbyshire and the West Riding has made Sheffield, on the Don, a great centre of iron and steel manufactures. The natural centre of the plain is York, on the Ouse, which has been from Roman times an important station on the main road from London to the North. On the Humber Estuary stand Hull, on the north bank, and Grimsby, on the south bank—ports through which the trade of the great plain behind them naturally passes to Northern Europe. The Plain of York is bounded on the east by the tableland of the Yorkshire Wolds, and farther north by the broken hill-country of the Yorkshire Moors, which together isolate the eastern coast from the Humber to the Tees. The Derwent, running from the Moors through the Vale of Pickering south-westward to the Ouse, makes one gap in this defensive line; but there is no good natural harbour between the Humber and the Tees. Between the Tees and the Tyne, which both flow eastward from the Pennines into the North Sea, lies a great mining district which is continued to the north of the Tyne. This forms the basis of the vast engineering and shipbuilding industries which have sprung up in the valleys of the Tees, Wear, and Tyne, especially at Middlesbrough, Sunderland, and Newcastle. North of the Tyne Valley the hills come eastward nearly to the sea, forming a barrier to the north.

West of Pennines.

To the west of the Pennines lie the fertile Cheshire Plain and the narrower Lancashire Plain,

long the most isolated and undeveloped part of England, since it lay apart from the main routes between London and Scotland, but now the most prosperous industrial community in the world. The Cheshire Plain is bounded on the west by the Welsh mountains, from which the Dee flows to a tidal estuary at Chester. On the south the plain extends almost to the Severn Valley. Chester was from early Saxon times a stronghold against the Welsh of Wales and of Strathclyde, as North-West England and South-West Scotland were then called. It also was the natural port for the Irish trade, which passed up and down the Severn Valley or by the Upper Trent. Later the port of Liverpool, on the Mersey Estuary, which is wider and deeper, supplanted Chester, and the rise of the cotton-growing industry in America gave it immense importance. The Lancashire rivers are short and of no value for navigation, but they are swift, and supplied water-power for numerous cotton-mills in their upper valleys when the cotton manufacture began in the eighteenth century. One or two of these valleys provide easy communication with the Yorkshire Plain. The rich coal deposits of the plain have afforded a means of utilizing the steam-engine, and are the foundation both of the modern cotton industry and of the great engineering trades of present-day Lancashire. Manchester is now connected with the Mersey Estuary by a ship-canal. The Lancashire Plain is bounded on the north by the valleys of the Lune and the Ribble, in which are the ancient towns of Lancaster and Preston. Beyond lie the Cumbrian Mountains, filling the

region between the Pennine and the Irish Sea. The lowest pass over this range is 1,000 feet high—at Shap Fell. Amidst these high mountains lie the English lakes, celebrated by Wordsworth and Ruskin in poetry and prose. Beyond them is the narrow plain of the Eden, guarded by the Border fortress of Carlisle at the head of the estuary called the Solway Firth, in the midst of what was long debatable ground between England and Scotland.

Scotland.

North of the English Border, formed from west to east by the Lower Esk Valley, the Cheviot Hills, and the Lower Tweed Valley, lies a mountainous region continuing the Pennines and the Cheviots, and filling almost the whole of Southern Scotland from sea to sea. The main route from the South passes along the east coast through Berwick-on-Tweed and Dunbar to the plain which extends along the Firth of Forth to Edinburgh, and across the centre of Scotland to Glasgow and the Firth of Clyde. Stirling, at the head of the Forth Estuary, is the natural centre of Scotland, being only thirty miles from the Clyde at Glasgow, and commanding also the narrow Forth Valley, which leads between hills to the foot of the Highland country, and through Perth to the eastern valley of Strathmore. But Edinburgh, with its port of Leith giving convenient access to the North Sea, and its strategic position on the route from the South, long since replaced Stirling as the Scottish capital. The development of trade with America made Glasgow the chief seaport of Scotland, and stimulated the rise of the numerous great

industries, especially shipbuilding and engineering, which have made the Clyde Valley populous and rich within the last two centuries.

On the east coast, north of the broad Firth of Forth, lies the hilly country of Fife, with its numerous coalpits. North of it is the long, narrow Firth of Tay, with the great seaport and manufacturing town of Dundee on its mouth, and Perth at the head of tidal navigation. Perth was the outpost of civilization towards the Highlands, reached by the Tay Valley. Strathmore, or the Great Valley, leads north-eastward to the valleys of the two Esks, with Montrose at their mouths, and to the coastal plain which stretches northwards to Aberdeen between the mouths of the Dee and Don, and farther to Buchan Ness, which is the north-eastern extremity of Scotland. The plain continues round the coast westwards to the Moray Firth, across the valleys of the Deveron, Spey, and Findhorn, to Inverness. This is a pleasant farming country, with many small fishing towns on the coast. Inverness, long the chief town of the Northern Highlands, is at the north-eastern outlet of Glen More, the great valley which runs from the western to the eastern coast. It is intersected by lakes, which are now connected by the Caledonian Canal.

Between Perth on the south and Inverness on the north lies the wild mountain mass of the Grampians, whose highest peak is Ben Nevis (4,406 feet), at the southern outlet of Glen More. The whole of Northern Scotland beyond Glen More is mountainous, except for a narrow coastal plain on the east round the deep indentations of the

Grampians.

Cromarty and Dornoch Firths, and beyond to the north coast at John o' Groats, close to Duncansby Head. Thurso, a fishing port, faces due north. Across the Pentland Firth lie the island-group of the Orkneys, and beyond it the still more remote group of the Shetlands. The western coast of Scotland is deeply indented, and abounds in wild and picturesque scenery. Off the coast are many islands, arranged roughly in two lines—the Outer Hebrides, of which the chief is Lewis, and the Inner Hebrides, the largest of which is Skye. All are sparsely populated and ill-cultivated.

Ireland.

Ireland is for the most part a flat country. The central plain extends from its eastern to its western coast, and includes much of the northern district up to the foot of the mountains of Donegal and the Sperrin Hills in the north-west, and the mountains of Antrim and the Mourne Mountains in the north-east. In the extreme west the high hills of Connemara look on the Atlantic. The south is more definitely mountainous. Upland masses are ranged across the island. The Wicklow Mountains within sight of the Irish Sea, the Slieve Bloom Range farther west, the Galty and Knockmealdown Ranges south-west again of this, and the high Kerry Mountains of the extreme south-west, form an almost continuous chain, cut by deep river-valleys, such as those of the Barrow, Nore, and Suir, which all flow into Waterford Harbour; the Blackwater, flowing into Youghal Harbour; and the Lee, which flows into Cork Harbour. But the Shannon, the longest of

British rivers, rises in low hills on the north-west edge of the central plain, and flows through a series of lakes and morasses to the long estuary on the west coast, at the head of which stands Limerick. The central plain is intersected by many bogs, the largest of which is the Bog of Allen, and by numerous lakes, especially Lough Neagh, through which flows the Bann River, in the north-east, and Loughs Corrib, Mask, and Conn, in the west. These bogs, lakes, and rivers, have split up the country quite as effectively as mountains would have done, and impeded its development.

Industries.

The east central plain, with Dublin and Drogheda as its ports, was the first part of Ireland to attract Danish and afterwards English settlers, and long remained the most prosperous district. Since the Stuart settlement, Ulster, the northern province, has developed first as a farming country, and more recently as an industrial community. The linen manufacture brought wealth to Belfast, on the north-east coast, and Londonderry, on the north coast. In modern times Belfast is celebrated for the shipbuilding yards in its broad and sheltered lough. On the fine natural harbours of the south-east and south coasts are the ancient ports of Wexford, Waterford, Youghal, Cork, and Kinsale, through which agricultural produce is exported; while Cork remains a place of call for British mail-steamers between Liverpool and New York. The main industry is agriculture, and especially cattle-raising, since much of the soil is unsuitable for cultivation. There are few minerals, and large tracts of the south and west are sparsely inhabited.

CHAPTER III

BRITAIN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The Celt. MANY races went to the making of Britain, which in her turn has used many races to make the British Empire. The early history of the British Isles is a series of conquests by invaders from oversea. First came the Celts or Gauls to conquer the aborigines, who were probably Picts and a non-Aryan people. The Goidelic Celts led the way, some centuries before the Christian era, as is shown by the Goidelic or Gaelic languages still spoken in the Highlands of Scotland, the Isle of Man, and the West of Ireland. Later came another Celtic people, the Brythons, who drove the Goidels before them, and occupied the whole of what are now England, Wales, and Southern Scotland. They were akin to the Celts of Gaul, whom Cæsar conquered, and, like them, had to face the Roman invader in the years 55 and 54 B.C.

The Roman. Cæsar's coming is the first recorded event in British history. Our knowledge of earlier times has to be deduced from primitive monuments like Stonehenge, the contents of burial-places, and other scattered finds. But Cæsar did not conquer Britain. A century later, in A.D. 43, the Romans began the work in earnest, and soon reduced the island south

of the Forth and Clyde into a peaceful Roman province, defended from the barbarians of the North by two fortified and strongly garrisoned lines, or "Walls." The Roman cities, such as London, York, and Chester, still contain many relics of their founders. The fine straight Roman roads which connected the garrison towns with one another and with the North long formed the only British highways, and may still be traced even where they are now disused. The Celtic provincials were partially civilized; they received Christianity with the rest of the Empire under Constantine. A century later, in 410, the Roman legions were withdrawn to defend Italy, threatened by fresh swarms of barbarians.

The Saxon

The way was now open for the adventurous Teutonic tribes of Northern Germany, who had long harried the British coast. Bands of these heathen invaders—Angles, Saxons, and Jutes—landed on the south and east coasts in the fifth and sixth centuries, and founded small Teutonic kingdoms. The Britons were gradually driven back westward into Cornwall and Wales, and into Strathclyde, which included the North-West of England and the Clyde Valley. Unlike the Teutonic conquerors of France, Spain, and Italy, the Anglo-Saxons did not amalgamate with the natives, but held themselves apart. Some, no doubt, married captive Celtic women, a few homely words of whose language survive in English; but the general effect of the conquest was, in England and South-Eastern Scotland, to replace the Celts by the Teutons, who set up their own racial institutions in the country

which they had won. The main work of conquest had been accomplished by the seventh century, while at the same time Christianity, introduced by Augustine, the Roman missionary, in 597, and by the Irish followers of St. Columba from the North, had become the Anglo-Saxon religion. The many small States gradually coalesced into the three large kingdoms of Northumbria in the north-east, Mercia in the Midlands, and Wessex in the south and west. Each in turn dominated England, but the final victory lay with the able rulers of the compact State of Wessex. Egbert of Wessex became supreme Overlord of England in 829.

The Dane.

No sooner were the Anglo-Saxon feuds abated than England was threatened with a new enemy from oversea. The heathen Danes or Northmen had begun the piratical raids on the coasts of Western Europe which they were to continue till the eleventh century. They overran England, as well as Northern Scotland, the Irish coasts, and Man. When Alfred became King of Wessex in 871, even that kingdom seemed on the verge of ruin, while the other States had been absorbed into a new Danish colony, the Danelagh. Alfred fought the Danes by land and sea, but his chief success was the so-called Peace of Wedmore, which was really concluded at Chippenham in 878; by this he divided England with the Danes, the old Roman road known as Watling Street from London to Chester serving as frontier for most of its course. Alfred thus saved Wessex from extinction, and has ever since been famous as the Anglo-Saxon hero-King. It was left to his successors to reconquer the Danelagh bit by bit. Edgar, who

died in 975, was King over all England, and was feared by the Scots and Welsh. By this time the Danes of the Danelagh had amalgamated with the Anglo-Saxon population. But new bands of their kinsmen now appeared to vex the English, and after much savage warfare, Sweyn, King of Denmark, and his son Canute, completed the conquest (1013-1017). For twenty-five years England was ruled by a Danish King. She regained her independence under Edward the Confessor and Godwin, only to fall a prey to a more formidable foe in the Normans.

The Norman.

William of Normandy, who slew Harold and destroyed the Anglo-Saxon monarchy at the Battle of Hastings in 1066, represented the Northmen who had settled in Northern France 150 years before. He was as great a warrior as Sweyn or Canute, but he was a skilful ruler as well, and he was able to found in England a stronger government than she had ever had before. Even Canute had failed to establish a durable system, and his successors were weaker far than William's. The Norman conquest thus marked the beginning of England's career as an organized State. The ideas of feudalism were known in England, as in Europe. The small landholder looked to the nearest great landlord for protection; the great landlord or the monastery kept a band of fighting-men, who for their services received grants of land. But if the Normans did not introduce feudalism, they made it a system, applied feudal rules to all land, and taxed all for the support of the King. Domesday Book shows how English land was owned in 1086; no such elaborate record could have been made in Anglo-

Saxon days. King William divided the land among his Norman, French, and Flemish followers, appointed foreign priests to the chief posts in the Church, and filled the English monasteries with foreign monks. But the new-comers were few in proportion to the mass of the English people, who went on cultivating their fields and pasturing their cattle under the eye of their Norman lords as they had done under their Anglo-Saxon lords. Thus, like the Danes before them, the Normans gradually became as English as their subjects. King William and his sons ruled all alike with an iron hand. They had no mind to allow their Barons to become almost independent of the King, as the French and German feudal lords were. Hence they exacted obedience from every landholder, and appointed a Sheriff in every county to collect their taxes and keep the peace. Under the weak rule of Stephen the Norman system broke down, and there was a period of anarchy. But his successor, Henry II., restored the power of the Crown, and did more to create an English government than William I.

The Angevin.

The Norman Kings were hampered in their work by having to rule Normandy as well as England. Henry II., who was Count of Anjou as well as Duke of Normandy, extended his French domains by marrying Eleanor of Aquitaine, and thus ruled all Western France. But his greatest work was done as an English King. His son and successor, Richard, spent most of his short reign in crusading or in repelling French attacks on the Angevin possessions abroad, and left England to be ruled by his Ministers. John, his brother and suc-

essor, lost all his French provinces by 1206 saving nly the Channel Islands, that were part of the uchy of Normandy. The Barons who held land n both sides of the Channel had to choose between he English and the French King, as they could not e subjects of both. England now became an inde- endent State, and her Kings could give their whole ttention to English affairs. John's failure as a uler was thus beneficial to England.

The Great Charter.

The Norman and Angevin Kings were despots, nd on the whole good despots. The Barons had ebelled against them in vain, save under Stephen. But Richard's absence from England had enabled ne Barons and the city of London to acquire some olitical power, and John's bad government raised ne question whether the natural leaders of the ation should not have some share in the conduct f affairs. A general rising, backed by the Church, gainst John's tyranny led to the signing by him of Magna Carta (the Great Charter) of 1215, in which e admitted that the power of the Crown had limits, nd must not encroach on the liberties of others, and specially on the privileges of the Church and the Barons. How this charter was to be enforced was ne question which interested England for the whole f the thirteenth century. The Barons under Henry III. thought to solve it by setting up a overnment of their own. Simon de Montfort, fter defeating and capturing the King at Lewes in 264, tried to strengthen his cause by summoning epresentatives of the shires and boroughs, as well s his baronial allies, to assemble in 1265, and has nus been known, inaccurately, as the founder of

the English Parliament. But De Montfort was beaten and killed soon afterwards, and the baronial rising was suppressed by the able and gallant Prince who became King in 1272 as Edward I. His long reign (1272-1307) is famous for good administration, or success in war, and, not least, for the summoning of a complete Parliament, in 1275 and also in later years, which could assent to taxation and afford some guarantee that Magna Carta would be observed by English Kings.

Conquest of Ireland and Wales.

Edward I. was the first King who could fairly claim that he ruled the British Isles. Ireland had been conquered by Norman knights from South Wales in Henry II.'s reign. The Danes had been expelled from the coast towns with the help of the native Irish, and then the Irish in their turn had become subject, more or less nominally, to the invaders, who recognized Henry II. as their Sovereign Lord. Wales had been partly conquered by the Normans, but Gwynedd, the north-western district, with the Snowdon Range as its centre, retained its independence, though its Princes did homage to the English Kings. Edward I., provoked by the last Llewelyn's intrigues with the English baronial party, and by his efforts to rouse the Welsh national spirit against the ever-advancing English, made war on the Prince. In 1282 Llewelyn was killed in a skirmish ; next year his brother David was hanged as a traitor, and Wales was annexed to the English Crown. It was Scotland's turn next. The rival claimants to the throne, left vacant in 1290 by the death of the Maid of Norway, called on Edward to arbitrate between them. John Baliol, whom he selected, became King, and did homage to Edward,

hus acknowledging the vague English claim to upremacy over Scotland. Differences arose be-ween the King and his vassal, whereupon Edward, narching into Scotland, occupied the country and eld it, though with difficulty, until his death. The cottish conquest proved vain. William Wallace nd Robert Bruce roused their nation to revolt, and he defeat of Edward's son at Bannockburn in 1314 ecured the independence of the Northern kingdom or three centuries. But Wales remained a part of he English realm, and from 1301 has given the title f Prince to the heir to the throne.

Rise of the Commons.

The fourteenth century saw Parliament develop, hile the monarchy was engaged in French wars. dward III., grandson of Edward I., was a brilliant oldier, ambitious of martial glory. Pursuing a oubtful claim to the French throne, he plunged nto the Hundred Years' War, which lasted, with ntervals, from 1340 to 1453, and injured England nly less than it damaged France. To raise the ast sums required for his army and fleet, Edward ad to call many Parliaments and to make frequent oncessions to their demands. The Good Parlia-ent of 1376, which arraigned the conduct of the linistry in detail, affords a notable instance of the rowing power of the national assembly. Parlia-ent had early in the century begun to sit in two louses—that of the spiritual and lay peers, and hat of the shire knights and burgesses. The Lower louse, though controlled to a large extent by the obles, represented also the feelings of the rising niddle class; but the "Commons" were the *com-unitates* or shires, and not the common people. The esser landowners, merchants, traders, and lawyers,

who composed this House, supported the war policy, but demurred to its expense. They desired to control the King's Ministers, but strenuously defended their privileges against the lower orders.

The Peasant Revolt.

It was a time of unrest. The Black Death of 1348-49 swept away so large a part—perhaps a third—of the population that the old land system almost broke down. Lords of manors had been gradually learning that it was more profitable to take money rents from their villeins or unfree tenants than to exact the rent in labour; but, in the dearth of labourers after the Black Death, the lords tried to revive the labour services, lest their own lands should go out of cultivation. Discontent was thus excited among the villeins. It was stimulated by the increasing pressure of taxation and by the inflammatory teaching of agitators. Disciples of Wycliffe were actively denouncing the wealthy clergy in the early days of Richard II.'s reign, and demanding a simpler and more austere Church. Their influence combined with that of demagogues like John Ball to excite ill-will among the poor against the well-to-do. At last the countrymen rose in the Peasant Revolt of 1381, and for a brief space occupied London, until they were dispersed by mingled promises and threats. The insurgents were severely punished, and the affair had no apparent result. But it serves as a revelation of the misery of the time that the humbler classes should, in their desperation, have broken all bounds for once, and demanded political and social changes. The Royal Family itself was torn by dissension between Edward III.'s younger sons and his grandson and successor, Richard. The King made a belated effort

rule vigorously in his own way, but was unable to fend his crown against his cousin, Henry of Lancaster, who supplanted him in 1399.

This usurpation, which was confirmed by Parliament, opened the long struggle between the rival houses of Lancaster and York for the crown, which filled the fifteenth century. Henry IV. leant upon Parliament and the Church. He therefore allowed the Commons to assert many new constitutional privileges at the expense of the Ministry, and he persecuted the followers of Wycliffe until they ceased to be formidable. But he was too much occupied in suppressing continual rebellions and conspiracies to have energy left for improving the administration. English agriculture had revived; Calais, Edward III.'s chief conquest, served as a valuable mart for the English wool trade with Flanders. To the chief grazing districts the fifteenth century brought much wealth. But the political unrest continued. Henry V. sought to divert attention by renewing the war with France, and alliance with Burgundy. His victory at Agincourt in 1415 brought him much glory, and he was able to occupy Paris, where, after his early death, his infant son, Henry VI., was proclaimed King of England and of France. His brother, the Duke of Bedford, maintained the English domination north of the Loire and in Gascony for some years. But when once Joan of Arc had roused French patriotism against the invader, and the Burgundian and Armagnac factions among the nobility had composed their differences, the task which Henry V. had set before England—of conquering and holding France—was seen to be impossible. By 1453 the

Lancaster and York.

English had lost all, except Calais. The immediate consequences of this fatal war were to ruin the House of Lancaster. Henry VI. was an amiable nonentity. His wife Margaret had some spirit, but, as a Frenchwoman, was unpopular; his Ministers had not the power to check the formidable Yorkist party, who aimed first at controlling, and then, in virtue of its better hereditary claim, at supplanting the Lancastrian King. The parties came to blows in 1455, thus opening the Wars of the Roses, which disturbed the nation for sixteen years. The White Rose of York, in the person of Edward IV., triumphed over the Red Rose of Lancaster by the help of Richard, Earl of Warwick, the "King-maker." Then Warwick changed sides, and Edward had to flee abroad and gather new forces for a recovery of his kingdom.

The New Monarchy.

Edward's ultimate victory in 1471 was due, not only to his better generalship, but also to the growing sympathy which the towns, and especially London, showed for a King who could rule. The Lancastrians had lost credit because of their "lack of governance"; the Yorkist rule of Edward IV. and his brother Richard III. was arbitrary, but effective. Moreover, the Yorkist alliance with Burgundy was of value in encouraging the wool trade, on which England so largely depended. This "New Monarchy" was a foretaste of the firm and good government that England was to enjoy under the Tudors. The towns began to increase in prosperity; the revival of learning, encouraged by Henry VI. and his uncle, Humphrey of Gloucester became more evident; Caxton, the first English

rinter, was patronized both by Edward IV. and is brother. But Edward died prematurely, and ichard had not equal tact or good fortune. One ore revolution had to come before England was attain peace. The rising of Henry Tudor in 485 rallied the Lancastrian party, and profited by e dissensions in the Yorkist ranks. Richard III. as defeated and slain at Bosworth Field, and the ctor ascended the throne as Henry VII. Bosworth arked the end of the wasting conflict between istocratic factions. Henceforth nobles and people ike were to be subject to the strong rule of a new d masterful dynasty. The modern period of nglish history begins from this time.

BADGE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, FOUNDED 1348.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF MODERN ENGLAND

THE Tudor period (1485-1603) is remarkable for the extensive power wielded by the monarch, and for the strong national sentiment that inspired the majority of the people. The old nobility were reduced to complete subjection; the Commons as a rule approved of Tudor policy; the Church, which had long dominated the mind and the private life of the average citizen, was violently transformed from an international into a purely English institution under the control of the Crown. Englishmen began to exhibit an immense pride in their country and their mother-tongue. The rise of England's oversea trade, and the translation of the Bible into English by Coverdale and Tyndale, are two outward signs of this new patriotism. England would assert her right to a share of all that Columbus and Luther, in the material and in the spiritual sphere, had given to Europe. A century of Tudor rule changed the distracted and unassuming kingdom of 1485 into a compact and ambitious modern State.

A Firm Rule.

Henry VII. laid the foundations well. He crushed the aspirations of the powerful nobles still remaining. His Court of Star Chamber, under his persona

THE "GREAT HARRY" OR "HENRY GRACE-À-DIEU."

To face page 34.

supervision, dealt out stern justice to mighty offenders whom the ordinary courts might fear to touch. His strict law against livery and maintenance broke up the bands of armed retainers with which the nobles had menaced the Crown. Heavy fines on the culprits filled his treasury. Thus he was independent of Parliament, and rarely summoned it. He avoided war abroad, except in one trifling instance which brought him profit, and contented himself with building up an adroit chain of marriage alliances with Spain, France, and Scotland, that increased his reputation and strengthened his dynasty. Thus he was able to leave to his son, Henry VIII., a secure throne and a full treasury. He improved England's trade relations with Flanders by treaty. By his encouragement of John Cabot, who discovered either Newfoundland or Cape Breton in 1496-97, he directed attention to the new possibilities of trade in North America, of which the adventurous seamen of Bristol and Plymouth were soon to take advantage.

The Reformation.

Henry VIII., who had married the Spanish Catherine, and was guided by the ambitious priest Wolsey, not unnaturally reverted to the old policy of interference in Continental affairs. As an ally of Spain, he sought glory and profit in a short war with France, and then aimed at holding the balance between the two great rivals. France meanwhile had stirred up Scotland to attack England, after a long interval of peace. But James IV., the Scottish king, Henry's brother-in-law, was slain, with most of his nobles, at Flodden—the worst defeat that the Scots ever sustained—and Scotland was rendered

helpless for a generation. Wolsey's ideal, a balance of power, could not be maintained. Charles V., ruling Spain and the Empire and controlling Italy, was too strong for him. When Henry became anxious for a male heir, and cast about for means of divorcing Catherine, he was forced to dismiss Wolsey, and go back to his father's policy of holding aloof from foreign complications. The Pope's refusal to grant the King a divorce led him to assert the independence of the English Church. Lay grievances against the Church courts, jealousy of a wealthy institution owing allegiance to Rome, and to some extent the spread of Lutheran doctrines in England, accounted for the readiness with which Parliament in 1529 to 1536 passed the series of measures which effected the Reformation. The King became Supreme Head of the Church in England ; the connection with Rome was severed ; the monasteries were destroyed, and their vast estates given or sold to the courtiers and their friends. This great change emphasized the power of the Tudor monarchy. It worked a revolution, too, in the country districts, where the new men who had acquired the monastic lands introduced new ideas, not always to the immediate advantage of the tenants and labourers, still less of the many poor dependents of the monasteries. Cranmer, the Archbishop who gave Henry his divorce, and Thomas Cromwell, the Minister who worked out the Reformation policy, desired to make the English Church definitely Protestant. But Henry had no wish for doctrinal changes, and in his last years persecuted too ardent Lutherans.

After his death, Somerset, as Protector for the ...y-King Edward VI., carried the Protestant move- ...ent a stage farther, in the hope of securing uni- ...rmity, but failed. The unprincipled Northumber- ...nd, who replaced him, leant on the support of the ...lvanced Protestants, and therefore pushed on the ...eformation more rapidly than the nation as a ...hole desired. When Mary succeeded her brother, ... spite of Northumberland's efforts to set up his ...ughter-in-law as Queen, she reversed the pro- ...ss, restored the old religion, and persecuted the ...lherents of the new. Her marriage with Philip of ...ain, however, identified Roman Catholicism with ...e unpopular foreigner, and gave Protestantism a ...tional character. The Spanish alliance brought ... a war with France, in which Calais, the last of ...lward III.'s conquests, was lost. The disaster, ...upled with the fires at Smithfield, produced that ...tred of Spain which England did not shake off ... generations. Mary's death was hailed with ... ief, and her successor Elizabeth's moderate and ...oroughly English policy was assured of success ...most from the first.

The Counter-Reformation.

Elizabeth completed the work of the Tudors. ...e established the English Church permanently on ...compromise in doctrine and ritual between the ...l Catholics and the new Reformers. Her middle ...rse was disliked by both of the extreme parties, ...t was followed by the majority of the people. ...zabeth regarded uniformity in religious observ- ...es as necessary to the welfare of the State; ...tholics who did not attend church, and Protestants ...o took part in unlicensed meetings for worship,

The Elizabethan Settlement.

were regarded as political offenders. The Roman Catholics became suspect, because, after the Pope excommunicated the Queen in 1570, some of them, influenced by Jesuit missionaries, plotted to replace Elizabeth by Mary, Queen of Scots, a Roman Catholic whose claim to the throne was in their eyes superior to that of Elizabeth. The Presbyterians, and later the Independents, were severely treated by the High Commission Court, because they disapproved of Bishops, whom the Queen regarded as her officials. But the nation as a whole was content with the religious settlement. Elizabeth was equally fortunate in her administration. Her Privy Council, headed by able men like Burghley and Walsingham, exercised control over every county through the local justices of the peace. The remnant of the old nobility and the Roman Catholics strove in vain against this all-powerful government, which maintained peace and order. Elizabeth was careful not to imperil her popularity by increasing the taxes. Never did England have a more thrifty administration than hers. She was on good terms with Scotland, after the flight of Mary in 1568 had destroyed French influence there, and left the Reform party, inspired by John Knox, in full control of the infant King James VI. In Ireland, where native chiefs had not accepted the Reformation, but were intriguing with the Spanish King and the Pope, Elizabeth had to complete the conquest begun by her father, Henry VIII. Religious, political, and racial animosities combined to embitter the struggle, but gradually the South was conquered and planted with English colonies. Ulster was not subdued till

QUEEN ELIZABETH.
From a contemporary print by W. Rogers.

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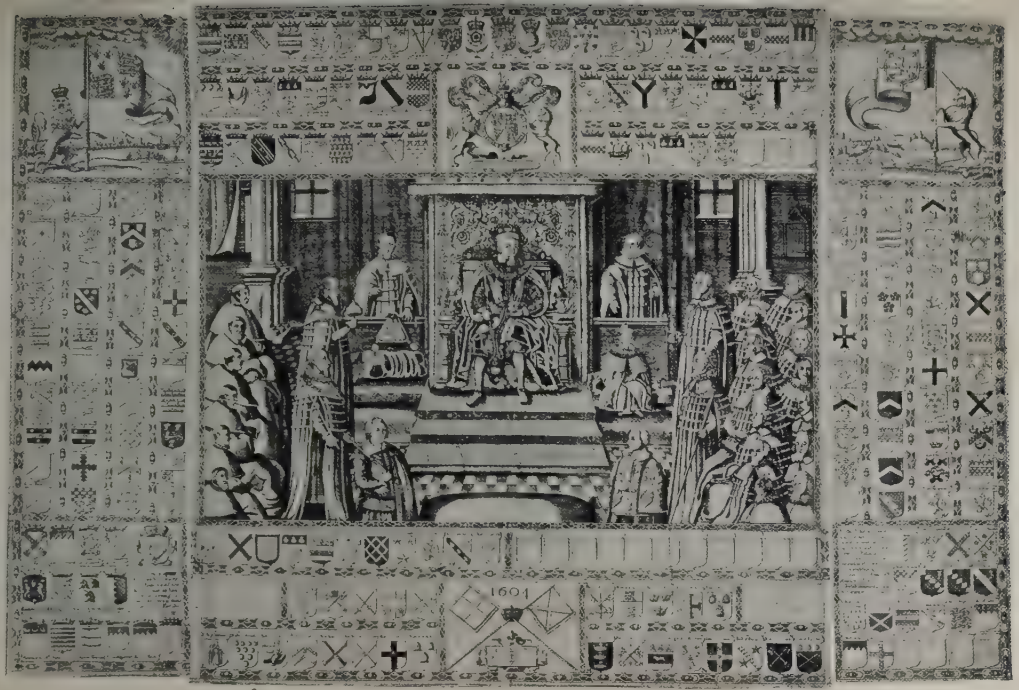

JAMES I. IN PARLIAMENT.
From a contemporary print by Renold Elstrak.

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and relatively prosperous. But an ill-judged attempt of Laud to strengthen the episcopal element in the Scottish Church and elaborate its ritual led to a national revolt, expressed in the signing of the National League and Covenant, and the formation of an army to maintain it. To obtain money for the Scottish war, Charles had to summon Parliament. The Long Parliament that met in November, 1640, after the failure of a second campaign against the Scots, knew how to take advantage of the situation. It was tolerably unanimous in its desire to punish the King's advisers and limit his power. When it split on the question of Church government, and the moderate Anglicans rallied to the King's side, war became inevitable. Puritan feeling against the King was encouraged by the success of the Scottish Presbyterians, and embittered by the Roman Catholic Irish revolt in 1641, in which many Protestants were killed, and which was openly ascribed to Charles's intrigues.

Civil War and Revolution.

The Civil War of 1642 to 1647 left Parliament victorious. The second Civil War of 1648 emphasized the supremacy of the army over the civil power, and of the Independents, headed by Cromwell, over the Presbyterians. The execution of Charles, the defeat of the various Scottish factions by Cromwell at Preston, Dunbar, and Worcester, and the conquest of Ireland by Cromwell and Ireton, left the army and the Independents in full control of the British Isles. Cromwell's genius maintained the Commonwealth intact till his death in 1658. His successor's weakness led to the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660. The monarchy and the Church were re-

established ; Scotland and Ireland, which had been forcibly united to England and represented in the English Parliament, regained their separate existence. But Parliament, though strongly Royalist and ready to persecute Nonconformists, retained many of the privileges asserted by the Long Parliament. Charles II.'s attempts to give religious toleration to Roman Catholics and Dissenters, and his alliance with Roman Catholic France, occasioned much ill-will, and broke up the nation into the Country or Whig party and the Court or Tory party. The attempt of James II. to set the clock back, assert the Crown's old despotic power, and tolerate Roman Catholics, led to the Revolution of 1688, in which he was dethroned ; while his successors, William III. and Mary, were proclaimed as King and Queen on a new constitutional basis.

England and Holland.

The reign of William of Orange marked the end of the political rivalry between England and Holland, which was due to commercial jealousy. Under the early Stuarts, England was outpaced by Holland as a colonial power, at any rate in the Far East, where the Dutch, expelling the Portuguese, secured a lucrative monopoly of the spice trade. The Commonwealth strove to break down Dutch supremacy on the sea. The Navigation Act of 1651 required that non-European goods imported into England should be brought in English ships, and European goods, if not in English ships, in those of the producing country. Holland went to war ; but Tromp and De Ruyter were no match for Blake. Cromwell made peace, and even tried to persuade the Protestant republic to form a union with the

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.
From the portrait by William Hoare, R.A.

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Commonwealth. He engaged in war with Spain, Holland's old enemy, partly from dislike of Roman Catholicism, partly in the hope of securing some of the Spanish-American colonies. His expedition under Penn and Venables took Jamaica in 1655.

Dutch Colonies taken.

But to the English merchants Holland seemed more formidable than Spain. The economic importance of colonies was clearly seen by Charles II. and his advisers, the Navigation Act was re-enacted and strengthened, the Dutch war was soon renewed. Commercial reasons as well as more sordid motives led Charles II. to ally with Louis XIV. of France against the Dutch. England secured the Dutch North American colonies, New Amsterdam becoming New York; Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn, the Quaker; and thus the older colonies of New England were linked up with Maryland and Virginia, forming a chain of settlements along the Atlantic seaboard. The foundation of the Carolinas extended the line of settlements, and only Georgia remained to be established in the eighteenth century. While William, the Dutch Stadtholder, reigned in England, it seemed as if England were being forced to fight France in Flanders largely for the benefit of Holland. But in the War of the Spanish Succession, after William's death, England took the lead, and continued the struggle, for reasons of her own long after the Dutch could have made satisfactory terms with France. The Dutch mainly desired to save the Spanish Netherlands from being controlled by France; they had little interest in England's determination to prevent France from securing a hold over the

Spanish colonies, and thus gaining an advantage in the Anglo-French struggle for Empire which was to fill the whole of the eighteenth century. For France, not Holland, was now the enemy.

The Jacobites.

The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 was mainly the work of the Whig party, and was completed in 1714, when the Hanoverian Prince, George I., was proclaimed King. Ireland, whose Roman Catholic population naturally sided with James II., was decisively conquered by 1692. Scotland, where the racial pride in seeing a Stuart King on the throne conflicted with a Presbyterian bias against the Stuart religion, was induced to enter into a Union with England in 1707, and was thus to a large extent freed from temptation to restore the old Scottish dynasty. The exiled Stuarts had many Tory sympathizers; Anne herself was inclined to favour her half-brother, James Edward, the "Old Pretender," more than her surly German cousin; but she was not a strong-minded woman, and did nothing to assist the Jacobites. The Whigs acted with decision at the critical moment of Anne's last illness, secured control of the government, and quietly placed George I. on the throne. He knew nothing of English politics, but he saw that the Whigs had supported his claim, while the Tories had been unfriendly, if not hostile, and he therefore gave his undivided confidence to the Whig party. The abortive Jacobite rising of 1715 confirmed the King in his attachment to the Whigs.

Whig Rule.

For the next half-century the Whigs were supreme in British politics. Under them the Cabinet system was developed, and Parliamentary government

was firmly established. Controlled by a small circle of aristocratic families, the Whig party owed its strength to the solid middle class. Its main objects were, therefore, to keep down taxation, to avoid violent change in the ruling system, and to encourage trade at home and abroad. Walpole's long Ministry (1721-1742) exhibits the Whig policy at its best. He kept Great Britain at peace as long as possible, because wars meant higher taxes, and taxes roused discontent, which might increase the chances of a Jacobite rising, or, at any rate, of a Tory revival. He proposed few domestic reforms, or refrained from pressing his proposals, as in the case of the Excise Bill of 1733, because reforms would disturb the settled order of things. The country seems to have been sunk in political torpor under George I. and George II. But all the while it was developing its colonial and foreign trade at a rapid pace, and becoming rich. This new-found wealth enabled Great Britain, when war with France was at last renewed, to make the prodigious efforts in all parts of the world which left her the leading colonial power.

The Struggle with France.

By the Peace of Utrecht (1713), Great Britain had acquired Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay; while the colonization of Georgia by General Oglethorpe in 1732 had secured for her the last unoccupied portion of the Atlantic coast of North America. Meanwhile the French were strengthening their hold over the St. Lawrence Valley, defending its mouth with the great fortress of Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, and connecting their Canadian settlements with their province of Louisiana by a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence

to the Mississippi. In India the French administrator Dupleix was trying, by alliances with the native Princes, to secure a political supremacy that meant ruin to British influence and British trade. French ambition was seconded by Spanish jealousy, for Spain claimed a monopoly of South American commerce, and resented the interference of British traders. The Family Compact of 1733 between the French Bourbon and the Spanish Bourbon was partly intended to check British colonial enterprise. Walpole, knowing of this secret treaty, withstood the clamour for war with Spain, on account of trading disputes in the West Indies, lest it should involve war with France also. But he was forced into a Spanish war in 1739, and this, as he had foreseen, led to hostilities with France.

The Forty-five.

As Elector of Hanover, George II. made Great Britain take part in the War of the Austrian Succession, as an ally of Austria against Prussia. Again British armies had to fight French armies in the Netherlands, and the Jacobites in the Scottish Highlands seized the opportunity to revolt under Charles Edward, the Young Pretender (1745-46). But as England was apathetic, if not hostile, the invasion failed, and the Jacobite cause was extinguished at Culloden. Freed from this danger, the Whig Ministry contrived to end the European war in 1748 without losing anything, though the restoration of Louisbourg to the French annoyed the American colonies. Six years later the struggle began again in America between the British colonists and the French outposts that were threatening to close the interior, west of the Alleghanies, to British settlement.

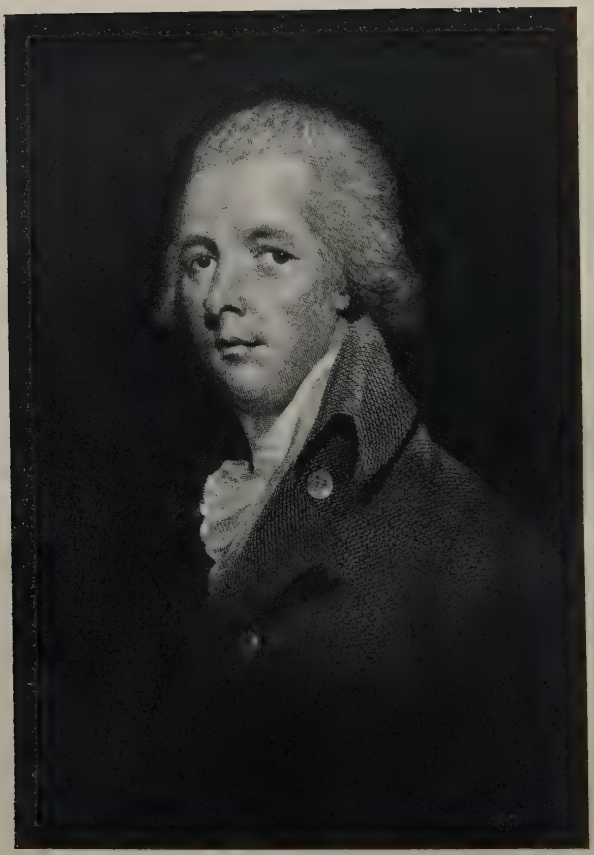
The quarrel in America and the ceaseless rivalry in India led up to the Seven Years' War in Europe (1756-1763), in which France now formed an alliance with her old enemy Austria to check Great Britain and destroy the newly-risen power of Frederick II. of Prussia. William Pitt, forcing the Duke of Newcastle to receive him as colleague in the Ministry in 1757, bent all his energies to carrying on an effective war in America and India while distracting France by attacks on her coasts, and encouraging Prussia and the smaller German States by lavish subsidies. Pitt's genius inspired British Generals and Admirals, and France was unequal to the double strain of carrying on a great European and a great colonial war. The British navy proved superior to the French, and prevented reinforcements from reaching their colonies. Wolfe's victory outside Quebec (1759) led to the capture of that city; a year later Montreal fell, and Canada became British. In India, Clive's victory at Plassey (1757), and Coote's at Wandewash (1760), ruined the French schemes, and assured British domination in Bengal and Madras. Most of the French West Indian islands were captured, and, when Spain joined in the war, Cuba and the Philippines were taken from her, only to be restored at the peace of 1763. In the long conflict with France for colonial supremacy, Great Britain had won. North America, except Florida and Louisiana, was now exclusively British, and in India the East India Company had no longer any foreign rivalry to fear.

Seven Years' War

George III. (1760-1820), unlike his two predecessors, was English by birth, and both he and

Loss of America.

his people were proud of the fact. His popularity encouraged him to carry out his plans for upsetting the great Whig families who had ruled Britain since 1714, and for establishing a personal Government through Ministers whom he could trust. Pitt resigned in disgust, the differences between Whig factions were skilfully encouraged, and at last, in 1770, Lord North, a devoted servant of the King, was made Prime Minister. It fell to him to carry on the work, begun by Grenville in 1764, of reorganizing the American administration and tightening the bonds between the mother-country and the colonies. The colonists, accustomed to do much as they pleased, resented British control and British attempts to suppress the smuggling trade with Spanish America, at least as much as the British demand that they should contribute to the cost of their own defence. Lord North and his master did not appreciate the delicacy of the situation, and were neither conciliatory nor firm. The Whigs, infuriated by loss of office, advocated the cause of the colonists with a partisan fervour that inflamed the quarrel. When the colonies took up arms, led by New England in 1775, the war was ill-conducted by half-hearted or incompetent commanders. The intervention of France in 1778 on behalf of the colonies, the naval war with the Baltic Powers that followed, and the open disaffection in Ireland that compelled the Government to grant her legislative independence, all contributed to the success of the American Revolution. Canada, grateful for the Quebec Act of 1774, establishing toleration for the Roman Catholics, stood aloof. Rodney's victory



WILLIAM PITT.
After the portrait by William Owen, R.A.

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in 1782 off St. Lucia enabled Great Britain to save most of her West Indian islands in the peace of 1783. In India, under Warren Hastings, British influence had been rapidly extended throughout Bengal.

Napoleonic Wars.

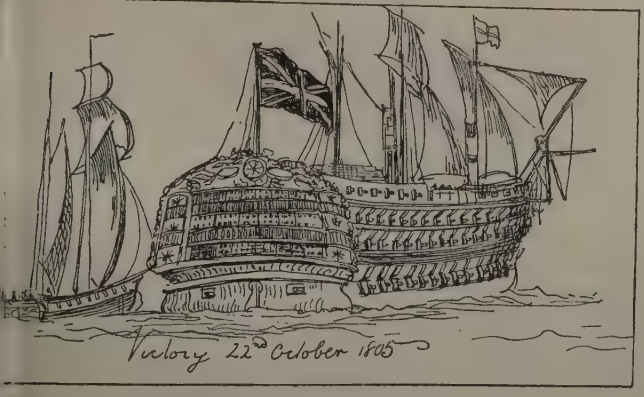
The long Ministry of William Pitt the younger began in the same year as the peace. The Whigs had overthrown North, but failed to constitute a stable Government. Pitt came as the King's choice, but, unlike North, controlled his master, by dint of his own popularity and genius. For nine years he kept Britain at peace, and effected some useful minor reforms. But in 1793 he was driven into war with revolutionary France. Public feeling, inflamed by Burke, against the execution of Louis XVI. and against the violation of treaties and repudiation of British claims involved in the French attacks on the Austrian Netherlands and Holland, and the opening of the Scheldt to commerce, was too strong to be resisted. On land the British forces were at first unsuccessful, but the British navy achieved a series of triumphs, culminating in Nelson's victories of the Nile (1798), Copenhagen (1801), and Trafalgar (1805). Pitt is said to have been killed by disappointment at the news of Austerlitz (1805), where his coalition was shattered. But Nelson had done his work. Napoleon, who, like Cromwell, rose to supreme power as the head of a triumphant army, endeavoured to ruin British trade by excluding it from the Continent, but strove vainly against British sea-power. The Spanish insurrection against Napoleon gave British troops their opportunity. Under Wellington the British occupied Portugal,

and gradually forced the French out of Spain (1808-1814), while Napoleon was consuming his huge armies in a renewed war with Austria (1809), and a mad invasion of Russia (1812). The honour of defeating Napoleon's last army, at Waterloo (1815), belongs to Wellington, in conjunction with Blücher and the Prussians. Meanwhile British fleets had swept the seas and quietly captured all the French colonies, notably Mauritius and Martinique, together with those of Holland, which was now under French control, especially Ceylon, Cape Colony, and Java. In India, British supremacy had been established over the whole of the southern states. The vast and little-known island-continent of Australia had been peacefully annexed, and at Port Jackson a convict station had been set up in 1788, just before the French Revolution broke out. At the Peace of Paris in 1815, while giving back some of her conquests, like Java and Martinique, Great Britain had made ample amends for her losses in the previous war, and as a colonial Power stood higher than ever above any rival.

The Irish Union.

At home the Irish danger had been removed by the Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800. Since the Irish Parliament acquired its independence in 1782, agitation had been rife. The Parliament represented only the Protestant minority, Roman Catholics being forbidden to sit or vote, and the franchise was limited and corrupt. French revolutionary ideas were warmly received in Ireland. The United Irishmen Society endeavoured to combine the Ulster Presbyterians with the Roman Catholics of the South in opposition to the ruling Protestant

action and the British Government. Ulster rebelled too soon, and was pacified by harsh measures. Then the South rose, encouraged by the landing of a small French army, but the revolt was crushed at Vinegar Hill (1798). Pitt concluded that the union of the Parliaments was necessary, and bought up enough votes from the wealthy landlords who controlled boroughs to secure a majority in the Irish House of Commons. Ireland received 100 seats in the British Lower House, and was to send twenty-eight lay-peers to the House of Lords, as well as four Archbishops and Bishops of the Irish Church, who lost their privilege when the Church was disestablished in 1869. Pitt's original intention was to grant full toleration to Roman Catholics when the Union was passed. But this gift was delayed for thirty years, owing to the opposition of George III., and the Union was consequently far more unpopular in Ireland than it might have been.



THE "VICTORY" AFTER TRAFALGAR.

CHAPTER V

LOSS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

THE only loss that the British Empire has suffered from internal disunion was sustained just after the elder Pitt had made his country triumphant in America and India. At the very height of her power, as it seemed, Great Britain saw her American colonies revolt and assert their independence. The reasons for the revolt and for the failure of the mother-country to suppress it must be stated. For though the Empire may have gained in some ways by the loss of the American colonies, its methods of colonial government have been changed so as to prevent similar secessions in future.

Causes of Quarrel.

British love of freedom in politics and religion was the real cause of the revolt, as it had been of the original settlement of the New England colonies. Puritan New England and Cavalier Virginia retained the vigorous impatience of royal interference which had distinguished their early seventeenth-century founders. The colonists had had to make their way with little or no official help from England; they had governed themselves from the first, and their elected assemblies were always at feud with the Governors nominated by the Crown. They violated the Navigation Acts more or less openly by trading with the neighbouring Spanish

possessions. The one thing that compelled them to keep on good terms with the mother-country was the presence of the French in Canada, a well-disciplined colony on which the French monarchy kept a firm grasp. When Canada became British in 1760, this danger was removed. The Americans now felt no need for British protection, and were therefore all the more ready to resent any attempt to make British control more efficient. The British Government felt it necessary just at this time to reorganize the colonial system, and in particular to suppress the smuggling trade and to impose taxes for the support of a small colonial army and the chief colonial officials. The colonies had up to that time been regarded as dependencies which would yield a profitable trade to Britain, besides increasing her prestige.

British Weakness.

It was natural enough for the average eighteenth-century Briton to regard the taxation of the colonies as just and politic; they enjoyed the protection of the British fleet and army, they had long held the monopoly of the British tobacco trade and of the provision trade with the West Indies, and they owed something in return. From the British standpoint, the colonies did not appear to suffer under the Navigation Laws which obliged them to export all their raw materials to Britain, and to import all manufactured goods from the mother-country. Hence their illicit trade with the Spanish and French colonies was a sore grievance, inasmuch as it lessened the profits of British merchants and shipowners who might have had the trade, besides raising awkward disputes between Great Britain and the

foreign Powers concerned. The right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies and to levy taxes upon them, though seldom exercised, appeared indisputable to most people at home. What was lacking, as the British nation soon discovered, was the power to enforce this right. The million and a half of American colonists, scattered through a vast territory on the other side of the Atlantic, which it took fast-sailing vessels several weeks at least to cross, were not to be governed against their will by the Ministers of George III. The colonists were by no means unanimous in their desire for independence; a large minority were loyal to the Crown, and suffered personal injury, ruin, and exile, rather than change their allegiance. But Great Britain could not take full advantage of their divisions of opinion. She had few troops available for service oversea, and few commanders of average ability; moreover, the strenuous opposition of the Whigs, animated by party dislike of the Tory Ministry, hampered Lord North's Government in its conduct of the war. The intervention of France on the side of the colonists insured the success of the revolt.

First Steps towards Revolt.

The struggle began less than two years after the formal cession of Canada by France to Great Britain; in 1764 measures were taken to put down American smuggling, and in 1765 George Grenville's Stamp Act was passed, imposing a small duty on written agreements made by colonists. So great an outcry was raised in America that in 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed, and a new Act passed declaring that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies. Next year Townshend carried a Bill for imposing duties on tea and several

ther articles imported into America. The agitators sed this as a pretext for renewed clamour and rganized disturbances. There was a trifling col- sion in 1770 between British soldiers and rioters t Boston, which was known as the "Boston assacre," though only three persons were killed. n 1773 the New England agitators went so far as burn one of the revenue vessels employed to ppress smuggling, and a party disguised as Indians full war-paint boarded three tea-ships, and threw eir cargoes into the harbour (December 16). The me Government replied by closing the port, spending the charter or constitution of Massa- usetts, and taking over the administration of that lony. The active minority, who were now inclined wards separation from Great Britain, appealed to ir friends in the other colonies to unite in up- lding the rights of Boston and Massachusetts. A ngress of revolutionary delegates was held at Phila- phia in 1774. Passions were now roused on both es of the Atlantic. King George, supported by landowners, the clergy (including John Wesley), ny merchants, and the multitude, was bent on ucing the unruly colonists to submission. The erican revolutionists, for their part, had gone too to withdraw, and persecuted all those, chiefly he wealthier class, who ventured to support the tish connection. Burke's great speeches advo- ng conciliation passed unheeded; his Whig allies e too clearly bent on encouraging the colonists, hat they might weaken the power of the Crown the Tory party.

ord North in February, 1775, made an attempt onciliate the colonies by proposing that, if they

War begun.

would contribute of their own accord to the cost of their administration and defences, they should not be taxed. But before these proposals could have any effect on moderate men, war had begun. On April 19, 1775, a small British force, marching to capture military stores at Salem, not far from Boston, was attacked by colonial volunteers at Lexington. At Bunker Hill, outside Boston, British regulars under General Gage suffered heavy loss in taking the colonial entrenchments (June 17, 1775). George Washington organized a colonial army. A daring but unsuccessful expedition was sent under Arnold and Montgomery to attack Quebec; but Canada refused all help to the rebels. In March, 1776, the colonists forced General Howe, now the British Commander-in-Chief, to leave Boston. On July 4, 1776, the revolutionary congress at Philadelphia drew up the Declaration of American Independence.

Saratoga. The war, now formally begun, opened not unfavourably for the British. General Howe, with 30,000 men, drove Washington from Long Island and took New York (September, 1776). Had he displayed vigour, he might have destroyed the Americans retreating across the river. His hesitation, ascribed by many at the time to his Whig sympathy with the colonists, saved Washington, and enabled the Americans, not merely to escape, but also to surprise two British detachments at Trenton and Princeton. Leaving Clinton to hold New York, Howe transferred his main army, in 1777, to the Chesapeake, and, defeating Washington on the Brandywine River, captured Philadelphia; while Washington went into winter-quarters at

alley Forge, not far away. Meanwhile a British rmy, first under Carleton and then under Burgoyne, ad been slowly pushing southward from Canada y Lake Champlain, with the object of cutting off ew England from the other revolted colonies. urgoyne drove the Americans from the shores of e lake, but, moving incautiously into the forests d swamps to the south of it, he was surrounded by rong colonial forces under Gates, and had to rrender at Saratoga (October, 1777). It had been tended that Howe should advance northward to eet him, but Howe had warned Carleton in the ring that he would be unable to help the army om Canada.

Saratoga was the turning-point of the war, not cause it encouraged the Americans—who were, in ct, despondent at the time—but because it in- ced France to promise them her active support land and sea in the treaty of February, 1778. fleet under D'Estaing, and a small army under afayette, were at once sent to co-operate with the lonists. In 1779 Spain was induced to join the ies; France ceded Louisiana to her, and agreed assist her in recovering Gibraltar from the British. e Baltic Powers in 1780 formed the "Armed utrality" to defend neutral commerce against e old British claim to search or capture neutral ssels supposed to be trading with the enemy. land was forced into war, having annoyed Great itain by her evident sympathy with the colonies. us Great Britain was isolated in a hostile world. rest in Ireland completed her tale of misfortune. e troops garrisoning Ireland had been drawn off defend Great Britain and fight in America; the

France intervenes.

volunteers raised for Irish defence were used for political purposes by the Irish Protestant leaders, Grattan and Flood, to alarm the British Government and force it to give the Irish Parliament legislative independence. The Whigs at home continued their vigorous campaign against North's Ministry. In these circumstances, the American war could not be prosecuted with the desired vigour.

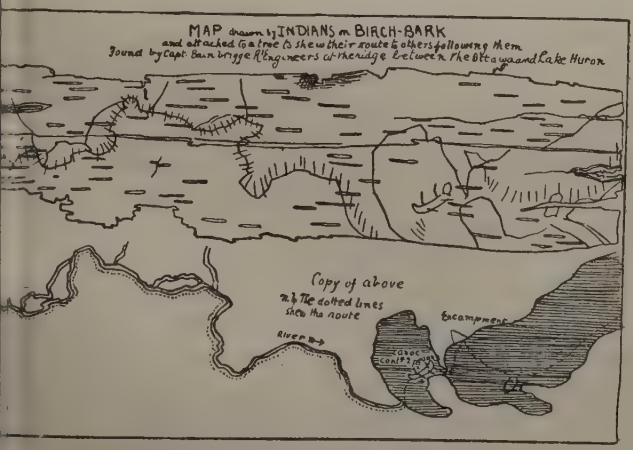
Yorktown.

Clinton, who succeeded Howe, was an able General, but his army was not strong enough to occupy the vast country that he nominally subdued in repeated victories. In 1779 he began to attack the southern colonies, capturing Savannah, the capital of Georgia. In 1780, with the help of the fleet, he took Charleston, and left Cornwallis to pacify the Carolinas before advancing northward through Virginia to join the main army under Clinton, which was to move southward. Cornwallis won two battles at Camden (1780) and Guildford (1781), but lost two smaller fights at King's Mountain (1780) and Cowpens (1781). Failing to make any real progress against the active insurgents, he transferred his army to Virginia in May, 1781, to attack Lafayette's French army. But Washington quickly joined Lafayette, and the French fleet, under De Grasse, diverted the attention of the British fleet from Cornwallis's dangerous position. The French and Americans in overwhelming strength forced Cornwallis into the narrow peninsula of Yorktown, and there compelled him to surrender (October 19, 1781), five days before Clinton arrived to relieve him.

The Peace of 1783.

This disaster convinced the British Government that it must abandon the attempt to recover

merica. Rodney won a great victory over the rench fleet off St. Lucia in 1782, and Gibraltar, nder Eliott, withstood all the efforts of the French nd Spanish besiegers (1780-1782), so that Great ritain secured peace with honour in Europe. y the Treaty of Versailles (1783) Great Britain cognized the independence of the United States. he retained Canada, and strengthened her hold pon it. Many thousands of the American loyalists, hom their revolutionary countrymen persecuted nd drove into exile, found new homes in Nova cotia and Upper Canada, where they formed a mpact British element to balance the French pulation of Quebec. The successful revolt of the d colonies thus confirmed the attachment of the w colony to Great Britain.


MAP drawn by INDIANS on BIRCH-BARK
and attached to a tree to shew their route & others following them
found by Capt Bainbrigge R. Engineers at the ridge between the Ottawa and Lake Huron
Copy of above
N.B. The dotted lines
shew the route
Encampment
River

MAP DRAWN BY RED INDIANS ON BIRCH-BARK.

CHAPTER VI

SCOTLAND FROM THE UNION

ENGLAND'S success in forming the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands as appendages, has, though incomplete, been sufficiently great to form a decided contrast to her failure to maintain her connection with the old American colonies. These colonies were, on the whole, thoroughly English in race, institutions, and traditions, whereas Scotland and Ireland were and are widely different from England in these respects. Yet while America was lost, Scotland and Ireland were gradually brought by England into intimate relations that have endured.

Treaty of Union.

Scotland up till 1603 was an independent kingdom. In that year her King James VI. ascended the English throne as James I., but she did not lose her independence or accept English government. Cromwell conquered her in 1650-51, and forced her to send representatives to his Parliament of 1654. But at the Restoration Scotland regained her autonomy, and, though influenced to a large extent by the English Government, managed her own affairs until 1707, under the supervision of the

Estates. The ruling Whig and Presbyterian party in Scotland, hating the Stuart religious persecutions, joined with the English Whigs in dethroning James II. and proclaiming William and Mary in 1688. Nevertheless, Scotland, shut out from English trade as much as any other foreign country, manifested her independence by attempting to found a Scottish colony at Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama (1698), and thus involved England at a critical moment in serious diplomatic difficulties with Spain. The failure of Darien, and the refusal of England to encourage Scottish trade in any way, angered Scottish opinion; the Estates went so far as to pass an Act of Security, under which Anne's successor on the Scottish throne should not be the same as her successor on the English throne. The threat of separation sufficed. The English Government made haste to arrange the Treaty of Union (1707), by which Scotland gave up her legislative independence in return for the right to trade freely with England and her colonies.

Results of Union.

The Union was a fair bargain from which both countries derived obvious advantages. England was freed at last from anxiety lest Scotland should try to restore the Stuarts, or to assert in any other way her independence. Scotland, for her part, had at length a chance of developing her trade and industry. The two countries were unequally matched. Scotland had only 1,200,000 inhabitants to England's 5,000,000; her revenue, after the land-tax had been levied on the English scale, was only £160,000, compared to England's £5,600,000. The county of Norfolk yielded twice as much in land-tax as the

whole of Scotland. England, on the basis of taxation per head, was seven times as rich as her neighbour. It was agreed that Scotland should have forty-five members in the House of Commons, and sixteen representative peers, elected for each Parliament, in the House of Lords—or about one-twelfth of each House. Scotland kept her Established Presbyterian Church, as recognized in 1690, and her own law and law-courts. She was already in advance of England in provision for education, inasmuch as an Act of 1696 had required every parish to provide a school-house and support a schoolmaster. The closing of the Parliament House at Edinburgh, a slight increase of the taxes, and the importation of English manufactured goods in larger quantities than before, now that trade between the countries was made free, were at first the chief outward consequences of the Union for Scotland.

The commercial class for a time suffered much from the new English competition, and all classes disliked the higher taxes, so that a proposed extension of the English malt-tax to Scotland had to be postponed. The Episcopal Church resented the final loss of its old privileges. The Highland clans who had ancient feuds with the Clan Campbell opposed the Government because the Campbells, under the Duke of Argyll, were devoted Whigs. In these varied forms of unrest, coupled after 1714 with the national dislike of a German King and of English interference, the Jacobites thought they saw support for a Scottish revolution. But both in 1715 and in 1745-46 the Jacobite risings for the Old and the Young Pretender failed. Highlander

and Lowlander, Presbyterian and Episcopalian, were unable to combine. The Lowlander, intent on peaceful trade, did not want the fierce men of the Highlands to come down and create disturbances; the Presbyterian Church feared lest a Stuart restoration might mean a renewal of religious strife in the interests of Episcopacy, if not of Roman Catholicism.

The chief result of the Jacobite risings was to compel the Government to pacify the Highlands once for all. General Wade constructed roads to connect the military stations, and recruited a Highland military police, known as the Black Watch. After the defeat of the Young Pretender at Culloden in 1746, the insurgents were cruelly hunted down by Cumberland and Hawley. Their chiefs suffered death or exile, and their lands were confiscated. The clans were disarmed, and forbidden to wear the kilt and tartan. The old powers exercised by the chiefs over their followers were abolished. The chiefs became ordinary landlords, and the clansmen their tenants. Sheep-farming was introduced into the Highlands, and many of the old tenants who could not pay the rents now exacted were compelled to emigrate or to enlist in Pitt's Highland regiments. The unruly element in the Highland population was thus removed, and by 1773, when Dr. Johnson and Boswell made their tour in the Highlands, that region was as orderly as any other part of Scotland. It was little known to the world till Scott described its beauties and its romantic history in "The Lady of the Lake" and the Waverley Novels. Queen Victoria made the Highlands a fashionable health-resort by choosing Balmoral as her summer residence

The Highlands.

in 1847. The modern love of sport has since then led to a great extension of deer-forests, which now cover 3,500,000 acres in the Highlands. Much of this land was formerly pasture for sheep, and some part of it was cultivated. The Highland population is consequently very small and scattered. Many still speak Gaelic, but only 28,000 persons were returned in 1901 as knowing no English.

The Modern Lowlands.

The Lowlands, on the other hand, have steadily increased in population and in wealth. At the Union the towns were very small : Edinburgh with 30,000 inhabitants was the largest, and Glasgow with half as many people came next. The only important manufacture was that of linen, and the export of this commodity was obstructed by the English Navigation Laws, which forbade Scotland to trade directly with the colonies. Scottish farmers were far behind the English in their methods. The Union changed the whole outlook for Scottish enterprise by granting freedom of trade with England and the colonies. Glasgow engaged in the American tobacco trade, and new industries making fabrics for export sprang up, especially in the Clyde Valley. The Clyde was dredged so that ships could go up to Glasgow. A canal was made from the Clyde to the Forth, so as to assist the American trade with Dundee and the Continental export trade of Glasgow. The coal and iron deposits in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire began to be worked, and provided the raw materials of the vast engineering industry that has arisen on the Clyde. The introduction of steam in 1792 to drive cotton-spinning machines caused a great demand for machinery. The inven-

tion of the steamboat by Symington (1803) and Bell (1812) rapidly developed the shipbuilding trade and the ocean commerce of Glasgow.

George Burns set up a steamship service in 1830, and, with Samuel Cunard, founded the Cunard fleet of Atlantic mail-steamers in 1840. The first Clyde-built ironclad was launched in 1860. The Tyne alone can rival the long line of modern shipbuilding yards now on the Clyde below Glasgow. The introduction of railways from 1827 onwards gave a fresh impetus to the iron and steel industry of Western Scotland. Edinburgh and Glasgow were connected by rail in 1842. There are now over 4,000 miles of Scottish railways. The Forth Bridge, carrying the main line from Edinburgh to the North, is one of the engineering wonders of the world. In recent times coal-mining has developed greatly, especially in Fife, and a new industry has been established to work and refine the deposits of mineral oil in Central Scotland. Other notable Scottish industries are the tweed manufacture in the Border towns, the floorcloth trade of Kirkcaldy, the jute trade of Dundee, the paper and printing trades of Edinburgh, and the granite trade of Aberdeen. All the towns have grown greatly, and now contain seven-tenths of the population of the country. Glasgow, which had only 15,000 people in 1707, had ten times as many in 1832, and now has over 800,000. Until Birmingham lately extended its boundaries, Glasgow was the second city in the Empire (excluding India). It also stands fourth on the list of British ports, in respect of the value of its imports and exports.

The Clyde Shipyards.

Politics. Scottish politics were inert under the Georges, owing to the fact that a few great landowners and the Crown controlled almost all the small minority of Scotsmen—perhaps 4,000 in number—who had votes. A Scottish member of the Cabinet made it his business to secure the support of his countrymen in Parliament by distributing pensions and places among them and their friends. The most famous of these managers for Scotland was Henry Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville), the friend of Pitt, who used his influence in the Board of Control for India to fill the East India Company's service with young Scotsmen. The Scottish members at Westminster usually, therefore, voted with the Government of the day, but they resisted attempts to impose unfair burdens on Scotland, or to deny her any benefits that England might receive. Their opposition in 1737 prevented the angry Government from punishing Edinburgh unduly on account of the Porteous riots, in which an unpopular officer was hanged. The masses showed no interest in politics. Glasgow protested against the American War. There were riots in 1779 as a protest against the suggestion that Roman Catholics might have freedom of worship. The growth of industry, which collected dense populations in the towns, and the French Revolution, which illustrated the power of the masses when roused, stimulated the movement towards political reform. A few of the chief sympathizers with the Paris Jacobins were tried and punished. As in England, the commercial distress at the close of the Napoleonic wars produced political unrest, and there was a trifling labour

demonstration at Bonnymuir, near Glasgow, in 1820, for taking part in which three men were hanged. At last, in 1832, Scotland for the first time received a broad and genuine franchise, and the seats were increased and redistributed, so that Glasgow, for instance, and Edinburgh, had two members apiece. From this time Scottish politics followed much the same lines as English politics, and Scotland within little more than seventy years supplied three Prime Ministers—Lord Aberdeen, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman—to the United Kingdom. Scotland gained seats, in proportion to her inhabitants, under the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1885, and now returns seventy-two members.

The Church.

Apart from trade, religion was the main topic that interested the Scottish people under the Georges and Victoria. The Presbyterian Church, established in 1690, did not comprehend all Presbyterians, and its apathy caused many to leave its fold and form various small dissentient bodies. The question whether landowners holding the ancient right of patronage ought to be allowed to appoint ministers to vacant parishes caused a more serious split—known as the Disruption—in 1843. The Assembly, or governing body of the Church, claimed to decide in the last resort whether any particular minister should be admitted to a parish, and resented the interference of the law-courts in its spiritual affairs. Finding resistance vain, a majority of the Assembly, led by the great Thomas Chalmers, first a Glasgow preacher and then an Edinburgh Professor, left the Established Church and founded a new Free Church, which claimed State support, but repudi-

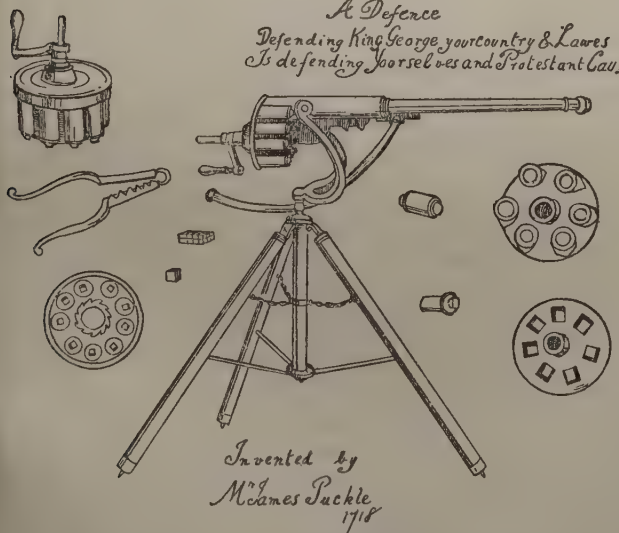
ated State control. Many of the older sects combined in 1847 to form a United Presbyterian Church, which refused all connection with the State. The two bodies were amalgamated in 1900 as the United Free Church. This led to a long and acrimonious dispute, inasmuch as a minority of the Free Church repudiated the union, claimed the whole property of the Church, and were supported in their claim by the law-courts. The Government had now to intervene, and a Commission appointed by Parliament divided the property of the old Free Church between the majority and the minority.

During the nineteenth century Scotland increased her population and her wealth at a very rapid pace. In 1801 she had 1,608,420 inhabitants—one-fourth as many as Ireland had at that date. In 1901, however, her population had increased to 4,472,103, and was now larger than that of Ireland, for the Irish population had declined since the famine of 1846. Full provision was made for the poor after 1845, and the ancient schools and Universities, which had given Scotland an educated people long before most other countries, were multiplied and strengthened, notably by the Carnegie Trust of £2,000,000 for University purposes. Every parish in Scotland has had a School Board since 1872 to provide for elementary education, and the Boards now pay great attention to secondary and technical education as well.

Success of the Union.

The success of the Union has been largely due to the fact that Scotland has been governed by Scotsmen, according to Scottish ideas, under the formal control of the Imperial Parliament. The

chief official is the Secretary for Scotland, whose office was separated in 1885 from that of the Lord Advocate, with which it had long been combined. Through this Minister, who is always a Scotsman, the Cabinet governs Scotland. In recent years a travelling Parliamentary Commission has examined the less important Scottish private Bills in one or other of the chief Scottish cities, so that the parties interested had not to go to Westminster. It is a step towards relieving the Imperial Parliament of the details of Scottish business.



CTURE OF OUR OLD GUN, 1718, DEDICATED TO KING GEORGE I.

CHAPTER VII

IRELAND FROM THE UNION

THE history of Ireland since the Union of 1800 presents a striking contrast to that of Scotland since 1707. Ireland has been subject to repeated agitations, and has occupied much of the time of the Imperial Parliament with her demands for various economic and political changes, including separation. Scotland, on the other hand, has known no serious political disturbance since Culloden, and her affairs are rarely discussed in a full House at Westminster. Four-fifths of the Irish members have demanded Irish Home Rule for a generation past. Among the Scottish members, Scottish Home Rule has advocates, but has not been generally regarded as a matter of urgent importance. Ireland has, on the whole, advanced in material prosperity, especially in the last thirty years, but cannot compare with Scotland in wealth. Moreover, her population, after reaching about 8,000,000, has fallen by nearly a half in sixty years, while that of Scotland has steadily increased.

The Catholic Grievance.

The chief political reason for this marked difference between the results of union in the one country and in the other lies in the fact that the Act of Union was not made acceptable to the Irish people

by the grant of complete toleration to the Roman Catholics, as they had expected. Three-fourths of the people, being Roman Catholics, had during the eighteenth century been excluded from all share in politics, and had suffered in other ways for their religion. Roman Catholics were allowed to vote from 1793, but not to sit in Parliament. Had the Union, as Pitt desired, been accompanied by a measure placing the Protestant minority and the Roman Catholic majority on an equal footing in every respect, it would have been popular from the first. But as Roman Catholic emancipation was denied at the instance of George III., the Union excited bitter ill-will, and came to be associated with religious intolerance in the minds of most Irishmen.

Racial Feuds.

The religious question was mixed up with a racial question ; for the Protestant minority who had long governed Ireland, and who controlled her independent Parliament from 1782 to 1800, were mainly of English origin, descendants of the English settlers who, under Elizabeth and James I., " planted " large districts in Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, if not of still earlier English immigrants. Between them and the Irish population whose lands they had taken, the memories of fierce civil wars and of bygone oppression kept alive an old feud. The Scottish Presbyterians of Ulster had their own grievances against the English Episcopalians, but were sharply divided from the Irish Roman Catholics, although Wolfe Tone attempted to weld both parties of discontented into his society of the United Irishmen. These differences, religious and racial, were not removed, unfortunately, by the Act of Union

with Ireland. Scotland had secured toleration before her Union ; Ireland had to wait twenty-nine years after her Union before she gained a similar boon.

Emancipation.

Roman Catholic emancipation was thus the first object sought by most Irishmen in the nineteenth century. They had many sympathizers in England, headed by Canning, but they achieved nothing by debates in Parliament. Popular agitation in Ireland proved more effective. In 1823 Daniel O'Connell, an able speaker and skilful leader of men, founded a Catholic Association, with a branch in every parish, headed by the parish priest. It was suppressed by the Government, but re-established under another name. Its power was shown in 1828, when a by-election was held in County Clare. O'Connell, although, as a Roman Catholic, he could not sit in Parliament, stood as a candidate against a popular Protestant landowner, Vesey Fitzgerald. The Roman Catholics voted to a man for O'Connell, and returned him by an immense majority. His claim to the seat was rejected by the House of Commons. But the Tory Ministry saw that Ireland was in earnest, and, a year later, passed a Bill enabling Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament, and to hold all but a very few public offices.

Encouraged by this victory, the Irish Roman Catholics went on to attack the Protestant Established Church, which included only about a fourth of the Irish people, but was supported by tithes which all Irish farmers had to pay. The peasants now refused to pay tithe, and the authorities attempted in vain to collect it by legal means. To

stop this "tithe war," which caused great disturbance and much loss to the Irish Church, the Government in 1838 changed the tithe into a rent-charge, which the landlord collected from the tenant, and paid over to the Church, reserving a fourth for his trouble. The compromise lasted till 1869, when Gladstone disestablished the Irish Church, taking part of its revenue for other public purposes, and leaving it free to manage the rest of its funds. Since that time each form of religion in Ireland has been equal before the law.

The Land War.

A still more serious question, on which Gladstone began to legislate in 1870, was that of the land. Ireland lives chiefly by agriculture, and two-thirds of her people cultivate small holdings. In the earlier half of the nineteenth century the population increased rapidly, and, as every peasant wanted land, rents went up, while the holdings were subdivided until many of them were too small to support the cultivators. The failure of the potato crop in 1846 caused a terrible famine. Many thousands perished, and a still larger number emigrated to America. The competition of foreign corn, freed from the old high duties by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, reduced the profits of the farmer, and rendered it more difficult than ever for the Irish peasant to make a living. The landlords now began to encourage cattle-raising as more profitable than the growing of corn and potatoes. Many thousands of the small farmers were evicted, and their little holdings thrown into large grazing farms. Much distress and bitterness of feeling were thus caused, though the cattle industry began to prosper. The

discontented peasantry turned against the landlords and their agents, and committed murders and outrages which the Government attempted to check by severe laws. At last it became evident that some change must be made in the land system, to reconcile the conflicting claims of landlords and tenants. For while the landlord, according to English legal ideas, had the full ownership of his land, the tenant, in accordance with Irish ideas, asserted certain rights over the land which he and his ancestors had cultivated. In Ulster the customary "tenant right" was admitted to some extent; in other parts of Ireland it was usually disputed.

Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 was the first step taken by the British Parliament towards satisfying the claims of the Irish tenant-farmers, which were popularly summed up as "the three F.'s"—fixity of tenure, full compensation for improvements, and a fair rent settled by authority. The Act of 1870 entitled a tenant, who was evicted although he had paid his rent, to receive compensation. Gladstone's Land Act of 1881 marked a second stage of the controversy by setting up a Land Court to fix "fair" rents, and by recognizing the tenant's right in his land as a kind of property which he could sell. The Act was followed by great agitation, many evictions, and a widespread refusal to pay rents that the tenants did not regard as "fair." The Nationalist party organized this movement in accordance with the "Plan of Campaign." To meet this difficulty, the "judicial" rents fixed by the Court were again revised and reduced.

Meanwhile a new policy was devised for encouraging the tenants to purchase their holdings by the help of the State. A few had done so under the Act of 1870. Lord Ashbourne's Land Purchase Act of 1885 allotted £5,000,000 to this purpose. Land purchase proved very successful, and at length, in 1903, Mr. Wyndham's Act endeavoured to solve the Irish land question once for all by making it possible for every tenant in Ireland to buy, and every landlord to sell, his land, the British Treasury paying the purchase money to the landlords, and receiving it back in instalments from the tenant-owners. The cost of this great scheme was estimated at about £100,000,000, but experience has shown that it will probably be £180,000,000, so that the Act of 1903 has required amendment. In the near future it seems probable that almost every peasant will be cultivating his own land in Ireland, as in France. The problem of the very poor and barren region in the West, where the population is too large to obtain a living from the infertile soil, has been attacked by a special Congested Districts Board. This Board seeks to encourage fishing and other industries, and purchases estates so that it may redistribute the farms, and give each tenant enough good land to support himself in modest comfort.

Land Purchase.

Side by side with the Church and land agitations, there have been successive political movements aimed at securing self-government for Ireland under a separate Parliament such as she had up till 1800. Daniel O'Connell headed the first of these movements after he had won Roman Catholic Emancipation. He founded a great Repeal Asso-

"Repeal" and Fenians.

ciation to obtain the repeal of the Act of Union, and counted on the support of the Whig party in Parliament, while refusing to have anything to do with the more violent section of Irishmen who desired to provoke an armed revolt against British rule. O'Connell's Association failed to secure Repeal; his prudent resolve to abandon a vast meeting at Clontarf in 1843, which the Government was prepared to disperse by force, damped his followers' enthusiasm. A group of younger men, known as the Young Ireland party, tried the bolder tactics which O'Connell had discouraged. One of them, Smith O'Brien, attempted to provoke an armed rising in 1848, the year of revolution in Europe, but failed utterly. Eleven years later, two of his associates founded the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, commonly known as the Fenian Society. It became notorious in 1867 through two violent attempts to rescue Fenian prisoners, at Manchester and at Clerkenwell Prison, London. Three of the rescuing party at Manchester were hanged for the murder of a policeman, who was killed in the fray.

Home Rule.

The influence exerted by the Fenians on Irishmen of moderate views brought about the formation of a Home Rule party in 1870. Its first leader was Isaac Butt, an Irish barrister. In the Parliament of 1874-1880, Butt headed a band of fifty-eight Home-Rulers. Like O'Connell, he acted with the Whig or Liberal party. But Charles Stewart Parnell, a young Protestant landlord, urged the necessity of independent action, revolted against Butt's leadership, and became leader himself. In 1880, Ireland returned sixty Home Rulers under Parnell, who carried on a

violent agitation both in Parliament and in their country against Gladstone's Liberal Ministry. The Irish Land League came into collision with the law for urging tenants not to pay rent, and to resist eviction by force. Parnell and some of his colleagues were arrested and imprisoned for a time. But when, in 1885, the franchise was lowered, the Home Rule party were able to win more seats, and returned to Westminster eighty-six strong. If they voted with the Conservatives, the combined parties formed exactly half the House. Gladstone, who had returned to office, undertook to introduce a Home Rule Bill. On this the Liberal party split, and the Bill was defeated in the House of Commons by the help of the seceders, called Liberal Unionists. Gladstone introduced a second Bill to give Ireland a separate Parliament in 1893, but the Bill was rejected by the House of Lords, and their verdict was confirmed by the electors in 1895.

Recent Reforms.

In recent years both political parties have co-operated in efforts to improve the social and economic condition of Ireland. The Conservatives took the lead in promoting the land purchase policy. A Conservative Government in 1898 gave Ireland a system of local government by county councils, similar to those of England and Scotland. In 1899 the same Ministry set up a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, to teach the peasants how to cultivate their land, how to rear cattle, how to make butter at co-operative factories, and in general how to use their resources to the best advantage. The complaint that Ireland was overtaxed in proportion to her means has been met by

the Old Age Pension Act of 1908, through the operation of which it is calculated that Ireland now receives yearly about a million pounds sterling more from the Imperial Exchequer than she pays. With aid from the State, under an Act of 1908, the Irish Universities have been reconstituted and strengthened. Private efforts to encourage Irish industries are achieving some success. Belfast is now one of the largest shipbuilding centres in the United Kingdom, and Dublin is noted for its distilleries and breweries. But Ireland depends mainly, as ever, on its agricultural produce for its prosperity.

CHAPTER VIII

WALES, MAN, AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

The United Kingdom includes, besides England, Scotland, and Ireland, three outlying portions, each distinct in race and, to a large extent still, in language, and each possessing, in varying degrees, institutions of its own. These are the Principality of Wales, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands.

The Britons of Wales.

Wales, like Britain, seems to have been inhabited in prehistoric times by the non-Aryan people known as Picts. These were conquered several centuries before the Christian era by the Celtic people called Goidels, whose Goidelic or Gaelic tongue is still spoken in the Isle of Man, Ireland, and Scotland. The Goidels in what are now England and Wales were in their turn conquered, not long before the Romans came, by another Celtic people called Brythons, who have given their name to Britain. The Brythons submitted to the Romans, but, after the departure of the legions about the year 410, they failed to hold their own against the barbarian invaders from the north and from oversea. Withdrawing into the mountains of Wales, the wild peninsula of Cornwall, and the rugged country between the Mersey and the Clyde, known vaguely as Strathclyde, they offered resistance for centuries

to the Anglo-Saxon conquerors. Cornwall and Strathclyde were isolated and then subdued. But the Brythons of Wales formed a compact mass that the Anglo-Saxons were not strong enough to overcome. Offa in the eighth century traced an earthwork from the Dee to the Wye, known as Offa's Dyke, and thus marked off Wales as a separate country.

The Conquest.

It was reserved for the Normans to conquer Wales. Bands of Norman adventurers, eager to secure lands, pushed forward into Wales from Chester and Shrewsbury. They built strong castles, as at Rhuddlan, Montgomery, and Cardiff, to secure their conquests, and did not scruple to take sides in the bitter feuds, which raged among the Welsh and paralyzed their resistance to the foreign invader. The Norman Kings occasionally helped in the work of subduing the Welsh, so that by the time of Henry I. all Wales, except Gwynedd, the region having Snowdon as its centre, which now forms the counties of Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth, owed feudal homage to the Norman King of England. The Lords Marcher, as the Norman baronage of Wales were called, exercised a complete feudal sovereignty, against which the Welsh revolted continually, but in vain. Under the weak rule of John and Henry III., the last great Prince of Gwynedd, Llewelyn, who died in 1240, maintained his independence by allying himself with the discontented English Barons, and obtained concessions to Wales in the Great Charter of 1215. His grandson Llewelyn formed an alliance with Simon de Montfort, and married his daughter Eleanor. But he failed in his resistance to Edward I.

CARNARVON CASTLE, 1776.
From an aquatint in the British Museum.

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when that King attacked Gwynedd in earnest. After five years of warfare Llewelyn was killed in a skirmish in the Wye Valley on December 10, 1282 ; his brother and successor, David, was captured and hanged as a traitor, and the Principality was annexed to the English Crown in 1283.

Edward I. lost no time in placing the conquered land under English law, except in regard to the inheritance of land, and formed six new counties. The conquered country was formed into a Principality, the first modern Prince of Wales being Edward I.'s younger son Edward, born at Carnarvon in 1284. But the Lords Marcher still retained much of their power, and the Welsh were still discontented. As late as 1400 they rose in revolt under Owain ab Gruffydd, Lord of Glyndwrdwy, a wealthy landowner in the Upper Dee Valley, Shakespeare's "Glendower." Owain intrigued with the Percies against Henry IV., and obtained some help from France and from the Avignon Pope, who was not recognized in England. He held out in Snowdon, and died unconquered. He was a distant cousin of Owain Tudor, whose grandson, with some help from South Wales, became King of England as Henry VII.

Union with England.

The strong hand of the Tudors brought peace to Wales through the Council of Wales and the Marches, which, like the English Star Chamber, reduced the too-powerful Barons to submission. Henry VIII. in 1535 united Wales to England, gave Wales representatives in the Parliament at Westminster, abolished the jurisdictions of the Lords Marcher, set up a special legal system known as "The King's Great Sessions in Wales," and made the Welsh land

system similar to that of England, so that the eldest son took his father's estate instead of sharing it with his brothers. The Council of Wales was abolished in 1688, but the "Great Sessions" lasted until 1830. It was no doubt owing to these changes that Wales remained quiet through the stirring times of the Reformation. During the Civil War Welshmen sided with Charles I., and the Pembrokeshire revolt of 1648 gave Cromwell some trouble. In the Jacobite insurrections of 1715 and 1745 Wales was said to be sympathetic towards the exiled Stuarts, but made no effort to help their cause.

Religious Revival.

The awakening of Wales, however, dates from this Jacobite period, but it was due to a religious revival resembling that of Methodism in England. The Welsh Church, despite Laud's earnest work, had no hold over the people; Nonconformity had been no more successful. But in the reigns of George I. and George II. a few eloquent Welsh preachers, Griffith Jones, Howell Harris, Daniel Rowlands, and others, began to stir the Welsh people as they had never been stirred before. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, as they and their supporters came to be called, were, like the Wesleyan Methodists, slow to leave the Established Church, from which they did not separate till 1811. The older sects grew rapidly also, especially the Independents and the Baptists. The Welsh Church slowly began to reform itself and encourage Welsh preachers. By the nineteenth century, Wales, so long sunk in torpor, could be considered as an actively religious country.

Education.

Side by side with the religious revival there was

developed an educational movement. It began with Griffith Jones's "circulating schools" for grown men and women, as well as for children. Later in the century Thomas Charles of Bala popularized Sunday-schools. The Nonconformist bodies established training colleges for their ministers, beginning with the Brecon Memorial College in 1755. The Church founded St. David's College, Lampeter, in 1827. School Boards were introduced, as in England, by the Act of 1870. The system was developed, in advance of England, by the Act of 1889 providing for public, secondary, or intermediate schools. University colleges were founded at Aberystwith (1872), Cardiff (1883), and Bangor (1884), and united in the University of Wales in 1893. The Welsh schools and colleges are now controlled by a separate Welsh department of the Board of Education.

In recent times the Welsh people have shown more interest, too, in their ancient language, and have made great efforts to preserve it. In 1901 only fifteen persons out of every hundred could speak no English, but about half the population, now some 2,000,000, can speak Welsh, although most of them know English as well. Welsh is taught in the schools, and many books and newspapers are printed in English. But the main influence preserving Welsh is that of the National Eisteddfod, which meets yearly to hold festivals of music, literature, and art, and is imitated in numerous local assemblies. This national movement finds expression in politics, for there is a Welsh Parliamentary party, acting with the Liberals, which endeavours to promote Welsh interests.

Wales has made material as well as spiritual progress since the Hanoverian days. The north and centre are chiefly devoted to agriculture. But South Wales contains a dense population engaged in the coal-mines, iron and steel works, and tin-plate works, and Cardiff, the chief centre of the steam-coal trade, is now one of the greatest ports in the world.

The Isle of Man.

The Isle of Man is another old Celtic kingdom which retains in some degree its old language, and, unlike Wales, a certain amount of independence. It lies in the middle of the Irish Sea, and has an area of 227 square miles, and a population (in 1901) of 54,752. Fifty-nine persons at the last census could only speak Manx, while 4,598 spoke Manx and English. The island is crossed by a mountain range, with fertile plains at either end, and is noted for its fine cliff scenery and its mild climate. Agriculture, fishing, and lead-mining on a small scale, are the only native industries. Most of the inhabitants live by entertaining the many thousands of visitors who go to the island from Lancashire, Scotland, and elsewhere.

A Norse Kingdom.

Man was converted by Irish missionaries, and held by the Welsh before it was occupied, in the tenth century, by Norse settlers, who gave the island its peculiar institutions—the Tynwald Court or Legislature, the Deemsters or Judges, and the six divisions called "sheadings." The Norse kingdom included all the Hebrides until 1165, and after that only the Southern Hebrides—the "Sodorenses insulæ," which

gave a title to the Bishops of Sodor and Man. Alexander III. of Scotland, by defeating Hacon of Norway at Largs in 1263, gained Man, but in 1343 the island was occupied by an English Earl of Salisbury, claiming descent from one of the Norse Kings. In 1406 the island was granted by Henry IV. to Sir John Stanley ; it remained in the possession of that great family till 1736, and then passed by descent to the Dukes of Atholl, who sold first their sovereign rights in 1765, and then their private rights in 1825, to the British Government. Under the Stanley who was seventh Earl of Derby, the island was held for Charles I., but was surrendered to the Parliament by William Christian. At the Restoration the eighth Earl avenged his family by having Christian tried and executed. Man prospered in the eighteenth century, partly by a new land system, partly by smuggling, and partly also through laws which made it a safe refuge for fugitive debtors.

Under British rule, Man is governed by a Lieutenant-Governor, with two Houses—the nominee Council and the elective House of Keys—composing the Tynwald. The island pays £10,000 a year to the British Treasury, and disposes of the rest of its revenue. New laws are proclaimed in English and in Manx on the Tynwald Hill, in the centre of the island. As there are few taxes and low rates, many retired business men from Northern England settle in the island. Half the people live in the three towns of Douglas, Ramsey, and Peel.

The Channel Islands.

The Channel Islands, another outlying possession of the British Crown, are the last remnant of the old duchy of Normandy to be retained. They lie in the Bay of Mont St. Michel, off the north-west coast of France. Jersey, the largest and most southerly of the group, has an area of forty-five square miles, and a population of 52,576 ; Guernsey, to the north-west of it, has an area of thirty square miles, and a population of 43,042 ; Alderney, with Berhou, the most northerly of the group, has an area of three square miles, and a population of 2,062 ; the smaller islands of Great and Little Sark, Herm, Jethou, and Brechou, lie east of Guernsey. The islands are famous for their cliff scenery, their mild climate, and their fertility. The chief industries are market-gardening and dairy-farming, apart from the large tourist traffic ; vast quantities of early vegetables and fruit are grown under glass for the English market. Jersey has one large town, St. Helier, with 27,866 inhabitants, which is a military station. Guernsey's chief towns are St. Peter Port, with 18,264 inhabitants, and St. Sampson. Many of the Channel Islanders still speak the old Norman-French.

Home Rule.

The islands enjoy self-government, under British control. Guernsey, including Alderney and the smaller isles, has a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Crown, and an assembly called the States, which include the Bailiff, or Chief Judge ; the Procureur, or Chief Law Officer ; the beneficed clergy, twelve jurats elected for life, and twelve delegates

elected at short intervals. A similar constitution exists in Jersey, where the States comprise the Bailiff, twelve beneficed clergy, twelve jurats sitting for life, and twelve constables and fourteen deputies elected every three years. The decrees of the States hold good for three years only, unless sanctioned by the Crown. British laws are not recognized until they have been registered by the States. The Lieutenant-Governor may veto any decision of the States.

The Channel Islands, taken from Brittany by William I., were retained by John when he lost Normandy. They were regarded as neutral ground, under a Papal Bull, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. During the Civil War, Jersey, as an Anglican stronghold, declared for the King, and served as a refuge for Prince Charles until it was taken by the Parliamentary forces in 1651; Guernsey, on the other hand, sided with the Parliament. In 1781 the French nearly captured Jersey, but were foiled by the gallantry of Major Peirson, who fell in the skirmish. In the nineteenth century the islands formed a convenient refuge for French political exiles, such as Victor Hugo, whose house at St. Peter Port is still a place of pilgrimage.

CHAPTER IX

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

TURNING now from the different portions of the United Kingdom to consider its development as a whole during the nineteenth century, we have first to notice the great change in manufactures and commerce, called by Arnold Toynbee the "Industrial Revolution," which was effected during the long reign of George III. (1760-1820). Before that change England had only one important industry—that of woollen goods—and these were made chiefly in the workers' homes. Since that change England has developed many industries, chiefly carried on in great factories, where each worker performs, by the aid of a machine, one of the many operations required to produce a finished article. Moreover, the West Midlands and the North, with their coalfields, have taken the place of the East and South as the chief industrial districts of England.

Home Industries.

When George III. came to the throne, the population of England was about 6,500,000. Half the people lived to the south of a line drawn from the Severn Estuary to the Humber. The district running north from Birmingham to Manchester and Leeds was increasing in population, owing in part to the growth of the Staffordshire Potteries, but still

more through the prosperity of the Northern towns which made woollens. For the wool trade was still the only great industry. Its chief seats were the Eastern counties, with Norwich as a centre; the West Riding of Yorkshire, with Leeds; Lancashire, with Manchester; the borders of Somersetshire and Wiltshire round Frome; and Devonshire, with Exeter as a centre. In all these districts every village had its spinners and weavers, who spun the yarn and wove the cloth, while clothiers, as the wholesale traders were called, supplied the raw materials which they had bought from English farmers, and collected the finished goods, to be transported to the great fairs that long served England as her chief home markets. Many of the spinners and weavers, when trade was slack, could turn to other occupations. In the brass and iron industry, with its centre at Wolverhampton, many farmers worked for part of their time at their own little forges.

The Age of Invention.

If England had not gained trade and territory oversea, this old domestic system of industry might have lasted longer. But the rapid growth of her commerce and her colonies in the eighteenth century brought an immense demand for English cloth, which could not be satisfied under the old conditions. Each spinner or weaver could produce by hand a certain quantity of yarn or cloth, and no more, and the number of hand-workers could not be increased quickly, though the population was growing. Hence there was need both for improved tools and for some motive power to assist, if not to replace, human labour. A band of great inventors

supplied this need. Their first object, however, was to improve, not the great woollen industry, which had been developing for centuries, but the comparatively small cotton industry which had arisen in Lancashire since the late sixteenth century, and which found it hard to compete with the fine muslins and calicoes of India.

Great Inventors.

John Kay's "flying-shuttle," produced in 1738, opened the new era of invention, by enabling one weaver to do the work that had formerly occupied two. The demand for yarn was thus doubled, and it became necessary to quicken the work of the spinner. This was done by the "spinning-jenny," invented by James Hargreaves, a Blackburn weaver, about the year 1764: the one wheel could turn sixteen spindles, each of which had needed one person to work it. A still greater improvement was perfected by John Arkwright, who in 1771 set up a mill at Cromford, Derbyshire, to spin cotton by rollers worked by water-power, and therefore called the "water-frame." He also perfected the carding-machine, to card or comb the rough cotton into an orderly mass for the spinner. Next, Samuel Crompton, in 1779, brought out his "mule," which combined the advantages of the spinning-jenny and the water-frame. The process of spinning was now so much quickened that more yarn was produced than there were weavers to turn into cloth. A clergyman, Samuel Cartwright, invented in 1785 the power loom, which could be worked by water-power like the water-frame and mule, and produced as much cloth as many hand-loom weavers could have made.

Arkwright's example had been quickly followed. Wherever there was a rapid stream on the western slopes of the Pennines, cotton-mills were built, especially in South Lancashire, where the moist atmosphere is well adapted to the spinning and weaving of cotton. Soon there was not water-power enough to meet the demand. James Watt, a Glasgow man, who had invented the steam-engine in 1782, now applied it to the needs of the cotton industry. He made a steam-engine to drive the cotton machinery in a mill at Papplewick in 1785, and Arkwright adopted steam as his motive power in 1790. Steam did not replace water-power for many years; in some places water-power is still used. But it made the wide extension of the cotton trade possible.

American Cotton.

All these wonderful inventions, giving employment to vast numbers and great wealth to the few, had the further effect of establishing a new and most important trade with the American colonies which had just separated themselves from the mother-country. Up to 1784, when a few bags of cotton coming from America were detained by the Customs officers at Liverpool as not being an American product, raw cotton had come from Asia Minor and the West Indies. The total supply from these countries was only 20,000,000 pounds in 1786. But in 1832 Great Britain received eleven times as much from the United States alone, and in the cotton season of 1909-10 she imported no fewer than 2,426,677 bales, each weighing 480 pounds, from America. Great Britain also received in 1909-10 175,000,000 pounds of Egyptian cotton, which is more valuable, and is used for the finer cloths; and

she took considerable quantities, besides, from the East Indies, Brazil, Peru, the West Indies, and Africa, to supply the enormous demand of the Lancashire cotton-mills.

Woollens. The old woollen industry was greatly affected by this rapid growth of a new rival in the cotton trade, since cotton goods were much cheaper than woollens. It in turn had to adopt machinery, and the spinners and weavers who had worked at home in their country villages had to go into the towns and work in the large woollen-mills which were built, especially in the West Riding of Yorkshire, with Leeds and Bradford as centres.

Coal. The erection of these great textile mills created a new demand for machinery and steam-engines, which brought into existence many engineering works. To make the machinery, iron was needed in large quantities which the old ironworks among the woods of Surrey and Sussex could not supply. Iron had been smelted with wood in the South ; now it was found to be cheaper to smelt it with coal in the Midlands and North. The need for coal, both for smelting and as fuel for the steam-engine, caused new mines to be opened and thousands of additional miners to be employed. For transporting the coal and iron, the machinery, the raw cotton, and the finished goods, from place to place, the old British roads and horse-drawn waggons were inadequate. Canals were constructed between the chief centres of industry. Railroads were made on which several heavy waggons could be drawn by a horse ; then George Stephenson invented a railway engine, driven by steam, to draw many trucks at a high speed

along the rails. The first modern railway, from Liverpool to Manchester, was opened in 1830.

The Manufactures.

These vast changes in industry and transport altered the whole character of British society. The many small producers of the olden time gave place to a less numerous class of manufacturers with large capital. The new mills were very costly to build and maintain, and it required great skill to manage them, and to sell the huge quantities of goods which they produced. The manufacturing class, which rose by talent and industry, soon claimed a share in the government of the State, which the landowning class and the merchants had hitherto divided between them.

The Artisan Class.

The effect on the working classes was still greater. Instead of being for the most part scattered through the country districts, they were now concentrated in the towns, where they lived under very bad conditions, and were at the mercy of their employers. They had no votes, and they were forbidden by the old laws to combine for the purpose of securing higher wages or better treatment. Six Dorsetshire labourers, for meeting to discuss the means of securing better pay, were in 1833 tried and transported. Men, women, and children alike worked for long hours in the mills, as the men's wages were insufficient to keep their families. In 1833, 10,000 children under fourteen years of age were working in Lancashire cotton-mills, and earning rather less than four shillings weekly apiece. This was the darker side of the Industrial Revolution. It explains the grave unrest which prevailed in England throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER X

THE ERA OF FREE TRADE

Foreign Commerce.

THE Industrial Revolution, which had made Britain a manufacturing country, led to a vast increase in her foreign commerce. This in turn made it necessary to change her old tariff policy. British manufacturers had to find markets oversea for the immense quantities of cotton and woollen goods that they could now produce, and they had to buy ever-increasing supplies of raw material from the foreigner. Further, the rapid growth of the population in George III.'s reign compelled Britain to import corn from abroad, since her farmers could no longer grow enough to feed the people. Britain was no longer, as in the old days, able to subsist on the produce of her own cornfields, but became more and more dependent on foreign countries. Thus her sea-borne trade grew and multiplied at a great pace. In 1761, for instance, England's imports were officially valued at £8,700,000, and her exports at £13,400,000. But in 1821 the United Kingdom's imports were valued on the same scale at £30,800,000, and the exports at £51,500,000. Thirty years later the official figures had again increased almost fourfold to £110,500,000 for imports, and £214,400,000 for exports. During

those thirty years the battle over Free Trade had been fought and won.

The first result of the Industrial Revolution was, however, not to weaken the old protective system, but rather to strengthen it in the interests of the landlord and farmer by means of the Corn Law of 1815. For fifty years before that date corn could be imported freely, though its export was restricted. The growing population of the manufacturing districts had to be fed, and the British and Irish farmers found it more and more difficult to meet the demand. In the twenty years of war from 1792 to 1811 inclusive, foreign wheat to the value of £58,600,000 was imported, and the yearly import tended to increase. During the war the price rose to an excessive figure; in 1812 wheat was 125s. 2d. a quarter, or three times as much as it was in the summer of 1909. The high prices encouraged farmers at home to use even the poorest land for growing wheat, and landlords raised their rents. But in the winter of 1813, after a good harvest, the price of wheat fell, and continued to drop owing to the large imports of foreign wheat in 1814-15. The farmers as a class suffered heavy losses, though consumers rejoiced at the cheapness of bread, which was costing them only half as much again as it costs to-day. The Government, on behalf of the landed interest, though in opposition to the towns, now stepped in, and secured the passing of the Corn Law of 1815, which forbade the importation of grain until the home price stood at 80s. a quarter, but made an exception in favour of grain from Canada, which could be imported when the home price was 67s. a quarter or upwards;

The Corn Law.

above these limits, grain was to be admitted free of duty. The advocates of the Corn Law held that it would steady prices, encourage British farmers to grow wheat, and thus lessen the danger in which the country stood, of being dependent on foreign countries —at that time the Baltic States—for a large part of its food-supply. These results were not attained, and the Corn Law, after being modified, was repealed in 1846.

Free Trade.

Meanwhile what is known as the Free Trade movement had taken shape. The theory of Free Trade was advocated by Adam Smith, a Professor at Glasgow University, in his famous book, "The Wealth of Nations," which was published in 1776. He did not himself expect that his theory would be carried out in practice, but his book had a profound influence on the younger William Pitt and other statesmen, and through them helped to change the British policy of taxing trade. At that time the tariff on imported goods was high and complicated. Pitt simplified it in 1787, but even then it contained 1,414 different duties. No further attempt was made to improve the tariff till 1825, when many hundreds of the old laws were swept away, and the rest arranged in a systematic but lengthy code. This reform was due to Huskisson, who agreed with his former chief, Pitt, that Free Trade was in theory desirable. He reduced the duties on raw materials which were needed in British manufactures, he gave a preference to colonial produce, and he cut down the very high duties on some articles to a maximum of 30 per cent. Sir Robert Peel went much farther when he was Prime Minister

(1841-1846). He reduced the tariff so that 5 per cent. of the value was the highest duty levied on raw materials, and 20 per cent. the highest on foreign manufactured goods; he admitted many raw materials, like hemp, flax, and silk, duty-free: and he abolished the duties on corn and meat.

Anti-Corn Law League.

Since the Reformed Parliament had met in 1833, the Northern manufacturers had been agitating for the repeal of the Corn Law. They formed an Anti-Corn Law League, headed by Richard Cobden, John Bright, and C. P. Villiers, which for years held meetings in all parts of the country to stir up opposition to the duties on foreign corn. Resolutions moved in favour of repeal were invariably defeated in the House of Commons. But the League gradually convinced both Peel (the Conservative Premier) and the Whig leaders that the Corn Law was not necessary to the welfare of agriculture, and that it was harmful to the community. A bad harvest in 1845 and the failure of the Irish potato crop, followed by famine, compelled Peel to suspend the Corn Law, and in 1846 he carried a Bill to repeal it, so that from 1849 corn could be imported at a nominal duty of 1s. a quarter; even this was abolished in 1869 by Gladstone. The Tory party split on the question of the Corn Laws; most of them opposed the repeal, but the remainder, known as Peelites, formed with most of the Whigs a majority of the House in favour of the free importation of corn.

The work of Huskisson and Peel in reforming the Customs tariff was completed by Gladstone, the Peelite who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Aberdeen Ministry (1852-1855). He noticed that

as the tariff was reduced and simplified it yielded a larger revenue through the increase of trade. He was led to abolish all duties on manufactured goods, still 400 in number, and to retain duties only for revenue purposes, and not for the protection of home industries. Thus, he kept the duties on tea and coffee and wine, because these were not produced in Britain, and he levied a duty on foreign beer, because the beer made at home was also taxed. The old Navigation Laws, adopted in 1651 under the Commonwealth, to encourage and protect British shipping, had been abolished in 1849 as unnecessary and burdensome to commerce. Thus the system known as " Free Trade " was completely established.

Railways and Steamers.

Meanwhile, communications between different parts of Britain and between Britain and other countries were being improved in such a way as to revolutionize trade and society, and to change the whole face of international politics. Canals had been made and roads improved under George III. But the steam locomotive of George Stephenson, which hauled trucks on a railway from Stockton to Darlington in 1825, and took a train from Liverpool to Manchester in two hours and a quarter in 1830, was a new force in civilization. In the early days of Victoria's reign all the leading towns were connected by railways, and the new industry benefited all others. The improvement of the steamship was effected at the same time. In 1833 the first steamer, the *Royal William*, crossed the Atlantic in twenty-two days, and in 1840 the Cunard Company began its Atlantic mail-service with a fleet of steamers

THE WORLD
ON MERCATOR'S PROJECTION
Principal World Routes thus,
Long.W.of Gr. 0 Long.E.of Gr.
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
SOUTHERN OCEAN
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
ANTARCTICA
Mc Kinley Sea
Lincoln Sea
Victoria Sea
Franz Josef Land
Greenland
Greenland Sea
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Baffin Bay
Beaufort Sea
Banks Land
Wrangel I.
Arctic Circle
Alaska
Klondyke
Hudson Bay
Dominion of Canada
NORTH AMERICA
Vancouver I.
Winnipeg
Quebec
Montreal
Halifax
Chicago
Denver
United States
New York
Philadelphia
Washington
San Francisco
St.Louis
New Orleans
Bermudas
Mexico
Havana
Cuba
Bahamas
West Indies
Haiti
Jamaica
Barbados
Panama
Bogota
Quito
Lima
SOUTH AMERICA
La Paz
Para
Bahia
Rio de Janeiro
Valparaiso
Santiago
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
Rio de la Plata
Tropic of Cancer
Honolulu
Hawaii Is.
Equator
Christmas I.
Marquesas Is.
Samoa Is.
Society Is.
Friendly Is.
Cook Is.
Low Archip.
Pitcairn I.
Tropic of Capricorn
Kermadec Is.
Chatham Is.
Homeward Route
Magellan S.
C.Horn
Falkland Is.
S.Georgia
Drake Strait
S.Shetlands
S.Orkneys
Graham Land
Antarctic Circle
Iceland
Jan Mayen
Spitzbergen
Novaya Zemlya
North C.
Archangel
St.Petersburg
Russia
Moscow
Tobolsk
Irkutsk
Yakutsk
Siberia
Taimyr Pen.
C.Chelyuskin
New Siberia
Sea of Okhotsk
Kamchatka
Sakhalin
Kurile Is.
Vladivostok
Mukden
Peking
Tokyo
Japan
Yokohama
Shanghai
Canton
Hongkong
Manila
Philippine Is.(U.S.)
Gilbert Is.
Equator
Ellice Is.
Solomon Is.
Fiji Is.
New Caledonia
Norfolk I.
Brisbane
Perth
Adelaide
Sydney
Melbourne
Auckland
Tasman Sea
New Zealand
Wellington
Tasmania
Hobart
Antipodes I.
Kerguelen
Outward Route
Wilkes Land
Cape Town
Cape Colony
Durban
Cape Town
Cape Good Hope
Tristan da Cunha
Walfish B.
Madagascar
Mauritius
Zanzibar
Seychelles
Boma
Ascension
St.Helena
Gambia
Timbuktu
Khartoum
Nigeria
Cairo
Suez
Mecca
Aden
Bombay
Calcutta
Madras
Colombo
Ceylon
Singapore
Sumatra
Batavia
Java
Keeling Is.
Chagos Arch.
Teheran
Persia
Kabul
Delhi
India
Chinese Empire
Pekin
Tokyo
Yokohama
Shanghai
Canton
Hongkong
Manila
Philippine Is.(U.S.)
Formosa
Gobi or Shamo
Aral Sea
Astrakhan
Caspian Sea
Constantinople
Odessa
Smyrna
Rome
Marseilles
Paris
Vienna
Berlin
London
Stockholm
British Isles
North Sea
Madrid
Lisbon
Gibraltar
Azores
Madeira
Canary Is.
Algiers
Morocco
Sahara
Tunis
Alexandria
Cyprus
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
Kerguelen
Antarctic Circle
Long.W.of Gr. 0 Long.E.of Gr.

built on the Clyde. Next came the electric telegraph to make communication almost instantaneous. The first Atlantic cable was laid in 1858.

Results of Quick Transport.

The effects of these inventions have been far-reaching. They have united the British Empire as nothing else could have done. Australia is now as near, in point of time, to Britain as America was in the eighteenth century; delegates from all parts of the Empire can assemble in London within a few weeks, while the Governments of the Empire can consult together within a few hours by means of the deep-sea cables. The building of railways in Canada, Australia, and India, has opened up their vast territories, and enabled them to produce food for the British markets in unlimited quantities; while at the same time foreign countries like Siberia and the Argentine are developing their resources by the same means. Again, the whole world has now become one vast market in which all producers, whether in Britain, America, or Japan, are competing together by telegraph and fast trains and steamers. The conditions of trade have thus been wholly changed, and Britain's commercial supremacy, which seemed assured for years after 1846, is now keenly contested by many rivals. But the essential condition of her success—namely, the command of the sea—remains the same.

CHAPTER XI

THE RISE OF THE DEMOCRACY

THE Industrial Revolution not only changed Britain from a sleepy agricultural country into a bustling hive of manufactures, but also transformed its old aristocratic government into a democracy, in which almost every man has a vote. First came the rise of the factory system and the growth of great towns of manufacturers and workmen. Then came the demand that this new manufacturing class should be represented in Parliament. In satisfying this demand, successive Governments have given votes to all men who own land or houses, or occupy houses or lodgings for at least a year, whether in town or country, and have enabled every class to have its interests advocated in the House of Commons.

Knights of the Shire.

That House has been a part of the English Constitution since the days of Edward I. It was always a representative body, although for ages its members were not freely elected in the modern sense. The early House of Commons contained two classes of members—two knights of the shire from every county, and two burgesses from every borough which was important enough to be invited to return members. The knights of the shire were at first chosen by

those persons who had a right to attend the County Court, at which the local business of the county was done. The right of attendance was defined in 1430 as belonging only to those who held freehold land worth at least forty shillings a year, and all other persons, however wealthy or intelligent, were excluded from the county franchise until 1832.

Borough Members.

The borough franchise, unlike the county franchise, varied from place to place. Sometimes the corporation chose the two members ; sometimes the members of guilds, as in the City of London, exercised the franchise ; in a few places, like Westminster, all ratepayers had votes. Until the seventeenth century, even the list of boroughs returning members was not fixed. The Tudors added many to it. Queen Elizabeth created a number of new Parliamentary boroughs, chiefly in Hampshire and Cornwall. The Stuarts added the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and a few more boroughs. Newark (1677) was the last. After that time no new boroughs gained the franchise and none lost it (except Grampound in 1821), so that towns which became important at a later period, like Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield, had no members ; while once-thriving places which decayed into mere hamlets, or even disappeared, like Old Sarum, retained for their owners the right to return two burgesses to Parliament.

Corruption.

The small boroughs became of great importance after the Revolution of 1688. By controlling them and their choice of members, the Whig party contrived to gain and keep a firm majority in the House of Commons for fifty years. Through a judicious use

of patronage and money, George III. then managed to wrest the control of many boroughs from the Whigs, and replace them by a majority of "King's friends" at Westminster. In most boroughs there were comparatively few electors, the majority of whom were dependent upon the neighbouring landowner, and could either be bribed or commanded to vote for his nominee. One borough had one elector. Three had none at all except the landowner, since they had become merely "a green mound," "a stone wall with three niches in it," and "a noble park." Boroughs and their rights of Parliamentary representation had thus become a kind of private property. They could be, and were, openly sold to the highest bidder. Some of the great landlords could return eight or ten members apiece for their various "pocket boroughs." In the more independent and larger boroughs elections were usually conducted on commercial lines; the candidates who paid most for their votes gained the seat. The borough of Sudbury advertised its readiness to sell its Parliamentary rights to the highest bidder, but this was perhaps an exceptional piece of frankness. In Scotland there was no pretence at popular representation at all; in Ireland, before and after the Union, the abuses were as great as in England.

Members elected by bribery or favouritism were naturally inclined to use their position for their own personal advantage. Bribery and corruption prevailed under the Stuarts—the member for Hastings in the Long Parliament bought his seat—but were perfected into a system by Walpole and Newcastle.

From the Government's point of view, it was indeed necessary to obtain a firm hold over the majority, if any consistent policy was to be followed. Most of the members were not influenced by public opinion; therefore they must be bought by the Crown or Ministry. George III. expended immense sums in buying and keeping a majority for Lord North, and William Pitt the younger might never have been Prime Minister but for this royal investment.

Parliamentary Reform.

But George III.'s success in managing the House of Commons led to a movement for the reform of the bad system under which such wholesale bribery was possible. The younger Pitt proposed to buy up all the "rotten boroughs" once for all, and give their members to other and larger places. He did not persevere with this proposal, because he was alarmed at the French Revolution, and feared the results of any political changes in England. But after Waterloo, when the Whig party regained strength and confidence, its younger members, headed by Earl Grey and Lord John Russell, began to work for Parliamentary Reform. The social unrest, caused by bad trade and distress in the country districts, increased the need for some improvement in representation. The Tory party, headed by the Duke of Wellington, declared against any change, but some of its members, notably Sir Robert Peel, were privately convinced that something would have to be done. When, after being in power for half a century, the Tories resigned office in 1830, and Earl Grey formed a Whig Ministry, Reform was inevitable.

The Reform Bill.

The Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell on March 1, 1831. It was naturally regarded as a revolutionary measure, and excited violent opposition in the House. There was a majority of one for the second reading, but the Government was defeated by eight when the Bill was considered in detail in Committee. Earl Grey then dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country. The public cry for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was so persistent that many of the electors for once revolted against their masters, and returned members in favour of Reform. In many places there were violent demonstrations for the Bill; in Bristol the mob rose, and pillaged and burnt a part of the city. The new House of Commons passed the Bill by a majority of 109. The House of Lords, many of whose members were borough-owners, threw out the Bill by 41 votes. But Earl Grey was not discouraged. When Parliament met again in December, 1831, the House of Commons once more passed the Reform Bill by a majority of 116, and sent it up to the Lords. There it was read a second time by 9 votes, but defeated in Committee. The King declined at first to create new peers, and allowed the Ministry to resign. But, as the Duke of Wellington could not form a Tory Ministry, the Whigs came back on the understanding that enough new peers would be created, if necessary, to make a majority for the Bill. On the Duke's advice the Tory peers stayed away, and the Reform Bill passed into law.

Under the Reform Act of 1832 the county franchise was widened. The forty-shilling freeholder

kept his vote if he occupied his land. The ordinary qualification was the possession of a freehold or copyhold worth £10 a year, or a long leasehold worth £60 a year; tenants paying more than £50 a year in rent also received votes, but smaller tenants and labourers were not enfranchised. The number of county members was increased. Yorkshire was now to have six members, twenty-six other counties received four members each, and seven others three members each; six of the smaller counties kept their two knights of the shire as before.

Borough Franchise.

The borough franchise was completely changed and greatly improved. Fifty-six boroughs, returning 111 members, were disfranchised at a blow. Thirty others, returning two members each, were now to have only one each. On the other hand, twenty-two large towns, like Manchester and Birmingham, which had been unrepresented, now received two members apiece, and twenty smaller towns were to have one apiece for the first time. The old electoral qualifications, which varied widely in different boroughs, were swept away. In every borough, any man occupying a house worth £10 a year was to have a vote. This was a much more democratic franchise than that which prevailed in the counties. The Government had intended to establish secret voting by ballot in place of the old system by which each elector had to declare his choice openly and publicly, but this reform was postponed till 1872.

Middle-Class Rule.

The general result of the Act was to transfer political power from the landed class to the middle class, including the substantial farmers in

the country, and the professional men, merchants, manufacturers, and shopkeepers, in the towns. The working class, however, which had had votes in a few boroughs, was now almost entirely disfranchised; hence it was attracted by the programme of universal suffrage, for which the Chartists now began to agitate. The more advanced members of the Whig party, called Radicals, strove in Parliament for the further widening of the franchise, but had no success for a generation. Lord John Russell, the chief author of the Reform Bill, declared in 1838 that a generous reform had been adopted in the hope that it would be final; he was therefore nicknamed "Finality Jack." The Reformed Parliament passed many important measures, reorganizing the administration of the boroughs and of the Poor Law, abolishing slavery, and repealing the duties on corn and on most other imports. The Whig leaders, especially Palmerston, were reluctant to disturb a settlement of the franchise that had yielded such good results.

Palmerston's death in 1865 left his colleagues free to move another step in the direction of pure democracy. Gladstone the year before had pronounced in favour of a wide extension of the suffrage. There were still a number of small boroughs that were controlled by the landowners almost as completely as they had been before 1832, such as Lord Lansdowne's borough of Calne, or the Duke of Newcastle's borough of Newark. Out of the 4,000,000 householders in the kingdom, less than 1,000,000 had votes. Gladstone therefore, in 1866, as leader of the House of Commons under Earl

formerly Lord John) Russell as Premier, introduced a new Reform Bill. It would extend the franchise to all tenants paying £14 a year in the counties, or £7 a year in the towns, and to lodgers paying £10 a year. But a group of Whigs, headed by Robert Lowe, disliked the Bill, distrusting "the people who live in small houses." They formed what John Bright called "the Cave of Adullam," voted against the Bill, and compelled the Ministry to resign.

Later Reform Acts.

A Conservative Ministry under Lord Derby and Disraeli now took office. Alarmed by the agitation which was promoted by the Reform League, and which led in London to a riot in Hyde Park, the new Ministry decided to adopt the programme of its opponents, and in 1867 passed a Reform Bill more generous in character than that of Gladstone. It gave the suffrage to all householders in the boroughs, to all tenants paying £12 a year in the counties, and to all lodgers paying £10 a year. In England eleven boroughs with seventeen members were disfranchised, and thirty-five boroughs having two members each lost one of them. Nine new boroughs received a member apiece, nine large towns had an additional member each, twenty-five more seats were given to the counties, and one was given to London University. Scotland received seven new members, and Wales one. The electorate was almost doubled, increasing from 1,364,000 to 2,448,000 in a population of 30,400,000. The working class in the towns was now represented, but the agricultural labourer remained without a vote. Gladstone, who became Prime Minister in 1868, established vote by ballot in 1872. It was he, too,

who rounded off the Act of 1867 by passing in 1885 the third Reform Bill, which gave every householder, whether in town or country, the right to vote. The measure was accompanied by a thorough redistribution of seats, in which still more of the smaller constituencies were abolished.

Majority Rule.

At the present time every man whose name is on the voters' register in his constituency is entitled to vote. He may have votes in several constituencies if he is qualified, and if his name is registered, in each one of them. But he can only vote once in each constituency. He is qualified by owning land, by occupying a house, or by occupying lodgings worth £10 a year. But to have his name on the register for any year he must, as a rule, have occupied one house for the twelve months ending on July 15 in the year preceding. This regulation prevents many people, who move from place to place, from possessing votes. Nevertheless, the majority of householders are now voters. At the General Election of January, 1910, about 6,600,000 votes were polled in Great Britain, where there were about 8,000,000 dwelling-houses. Before 1832 less than 6,000 people could elect a majority of the House of Commons. The vast increase in the numbers of the electorate shows how completely the three Reform Acts have changed the conditions of British politics. A small minority once monopolized power ; nowadays the majority rules.

CHAPTER XII

HOW GREAT BRITAIN IS GOVERNED

A. Central Government.

The Crown.

Under the modern franchise, as has been said, the majority of the British electorate rules. But its wishes are expressed and satisfied by the Central Government, formerly composed of the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament, but nowadays mainly concentrated in the Cabinet, which is appointed by the Crown and is responsible to Parliament. All the work of the Government is done in the name of the King. Without his assent no Bill passed by Parliament can become law. He prosecutes every offender; he appoints every officer in the army and navy. The King never dies, from the legal point of view, and he can do no wrong. But since the Revolution of 1688 the King's prerogative, or right to act on his own account without regard to law, has been limited in many ways, and George III. was the last Sovereign who interfered systematically and almost openly in party politics. The Crown can now act only through a Minister, and, since Queen Anne vetoed a Scottish Militia Bill in 1707, has assented to every Bill passed by Parliament as a matter of course.

From the earliest times the English King has

governed through a Council, as in name he does to-day. He summoned a large number of influential persons—the Witenagemot of the Anglo-Saxons, the Great Council of the Normans—when there was important business to be discussed. For ordinary work he depended on a small body—the Privy Council—composed of his regular Ministers or servants. The Great Council of prelates and Barons was strengthened in the thirteenth century by the addition of knights of the shire and burgesses, and became our modern Parliament for making laws. The Privy Council governed the country, and, especially under the Tudors, paid little attention to Parliament. The rule of the Council ended for a time when Parliament overcame Charles I.

Parliament.

The sole right of making laws is exercised by the two Houses of Parliament, although many modern Acts enable the Departments to draw up rules and regulations for carrying out these Acts. Parliament owed its existence to the King's need of money. From Henry II.'s time, when the feudal "aids" paid by the tenants-in-chief proved insufficient, it became a regular practice to collect taxes from the other classes. At first the Crown sent round agents to bargain with the shires and boroughs for money contributions. It was found more convenient to summon the representatives of shires and boroughs to one place. Edward I.'s so-called "Model Parliament" at Westminster in 1295 was not the first of such gatherings, but it established the principle that Parliaments should be held if grants of moneywere needed.

The shire knights and the burgesses at first sat with the prelates and Barons in one assembly, but

early in the fourteenth century withdrew, and formed the House of Commons. Henceforth they strove to secure the right of deciding what taxes should be raised, and how the money should be spent. Under Henry IV., who was King by Act of Parliament, the Commons asserted many privileges which they could not sustain under the Tudors. The weaker rule of the Stuarts enabled the House to reassert its early claims to control taxation. Under Charles II., in 1678, the Commons declared, not for the first time, that their grants of money ought not to be changed by the Lords. Gradually the Commons came to believe that the Lords had no right to amend any clause in a Bill which involved the spending or saving of money. As late as 1860 the Lords rejected a Bill to abolish the paper duty. In 1861 the Commons included all the financial measures of the year in a single Bill, and thus challenged the Lords to accept the repeal of the paper duty, or to suspend the collection of revenue altogether. Half a century later the Lords reasserted their ancient right by rejecting the Budget of 1909, but the verdict of the country at the ensuing election was adverse to their claim. The controversy as to the precise limits of the powers of each House in relation to the other is not yet dead.

The House of Lords.

In regard to all except financial measures, the House of Lords exercises the same rights of amendment or rejection as are possessed by the House of Commons. It now contains three classes of members: (1) Peers of England or of the United Kingdom; (2) the two Archbishops and twenty-four Bishops of the Church of England; (3) sixteen representative

Scottish peers elected for each Parliament, and twenty-eight representative Irish peers elected for life. In the early days the King summoned Earls and Barons to his Great Council at his discretion. But in the fourteenth century the right to a summons had become hereditary in a limited number of great families. Charles I. tried in vain to withhold from the Earl of Bristol the right to receive a summons. Under Queen Victoria, in 1856, an attempt to create a life-peer was resisted by the House of Lords with success, though life-peers who are Judges have since been created. Besides the old hereditary peerages, many have been created since the reign of Edward III. by letters patent. Modern peerages of this kind do not involve the holding of land. Earl Roberts of Kandahar owes his title to his Afghan victory, and does not possess an estate in Afghanistan.

History of the Cabinet.

The modern Cabinet began to evolve from the old Privy Council after the Restoration. Charles II. summoned many persons to the Privy Council, but governed through a small number, like the Cabal of five which succeeded Clarendon. This small council came to be called the Cabinet. After the Revolution, when Parliament was becoming more important than the Crown, it was necessary for the members of the Cabinet to be Members of Parliament, and to control that body. William III., and Anne in the first years of her reign, tried to govern by mixed Cabinets, including both Whigs and Tories. But Marlborough, finding that a divided Cabinet meant confusion in the Government, formed a pure Whig Cabinet in 1708. Henceforth the Cabinet at any one time has as a rule contained only members of

one party. George I., who could not speak English, did not attend the meetings of the Cabinet, as his predecessors had done. Thus the Cabinet was distinguished from the Privy Council, which the King always attends to this day. Walpole by sheer force of character made himself Prime Minister in the modern sense. But from his death until the younger Pitt took office, Cabinets were not organized under one Minister as their acknowledged chief; the various Ministers preferred to report to the King direct. In the nineteenth century the power of the Prime Minister increased, but the disputes between Lord John Russell, as Prime Minister, and his Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, showed that a strong man in the Cabinet could still assert a good deal of independence.

The Cabinet and the Commons.

The modern Cabinet is chosen, not by the party whom it represents, but by the leader of that party, who is invited by the Crown to form a Cabinet. It may happen that some of the Ministers whom he chooses are unpopular with, or distrusted by, their party. But so long as the Prime Minister supports them they are secure. The party in power may dislike some of the Ministry's measures, but as a rule it will accept them, against its own wishes, because the only alternative is a change of Ministry, under which the other side will come into power. When Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill in 1886, a section of the Liberals, headed by Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington, had such an intense dislike of Home Rule that they deliberately voted against their old chief, placed him in a minority, and compelled him either to dissolve Parliament or to resign office. But such cases are un-

common, and tend to grow rarer still. For as parties have become better organized, the Cabinet has gained a firmer control, not merely over the members of its majority in the House of Commons, but also over the party machinery which helps them to secure election in the various constituencies. Any Member of Parliament who is thought to show too much independence of thought, and who does not vote in strict obedience to the party leaders, receives protests from the local associations in his division, and at last runs the risk of being superseded by another official candidate at the next election. In this way the Cabinet can maintain a very strict discipline in the House. What the Cabinet decides is now accepted almost as a matter of course by the Commons. The power of the Crown to get rid of a Cabinet with a majority in the House has not been exercised since 1834, when William IV. dismissed the Whig Melbourne, but failed to find any Tory who could form a durable Cabinet. The power of the Lords to force a Ministry to appeal to the electors is in dispute. In theory, then, the life of a Cabinet is only affected by the necessity of holding a fresh Parliament every seven years, under the Septennial Act of 1716. But in practice the Cabinet is influenced to no small degree by the changes of public opinion, as expressed in the newspapers, at meetings, at bye-elections, and in confidential reports from the party agents throughout the country.

The Courts of Law.

The work of the law, like the work of administration, is all done in the name of the King. The early monarchs strove hard to support the theory that the

Crown is the fountain of justice, because the fines levied on offenders in the King's courts were a useful source of revenue. From Henry II.'s time the feudal lords were prevented from developing their manorial courts in rivalry with the royal courts. The old popular shire and hundred courts were maintained, and the shire courts were strengthened by the visits of the officials and Judges to collect revenue and deal with abuses. Special cases were taken before the King and his Council. After the very early days the King ceased to act as Judge himself, but entrusted the work to his councillors. Gradually the Judges became distinct from the officials who collected and spent the taxes. Gradually, too, they ceased to travel about with the King. By about 1300 the law-courts were fixed in London, though the Judges at stated seasons went round the country to hold the assizes in the shire courts.

The old Law-Courts.

There were three principal lay courts. The Court of Exchequer dealt with all questions affecting the King's revenue. The Court of King's Bench dealt with "pleas of the Crown," cases which the Crown alone could take up—that is to say, criminal offences against society. The Court of Common Pleas dealt with ordinary cases of disputes between one subject and another. Each court, however, tried to do the work of the other two, for the sake of the fees. Gradually another court, held by the Lord Chancellor and called the Court of Chancery, grew up side by side with the three Common Law courts. Chancery was supposed to decide difficult cases to which no law would apply, in accordance with reason and sound morality. But it came to have such elaborate

rules of its own that it was in the end slower and more costly as a means of settling disputes than any other court. Questions relating to marriages and wills were reserved to the Church courts, whose exactions helped to bring about the Reformation.

The New System.

The English law-courts were entirely reorganized by the Judicature Act of 1873. The present system may be outlined thus :

I. *Local Courts with Local Judges.*—(1) For criminal cases there are the unpaid Justices of the Peace, sitting weekly in Petty Sessions or quarterly in Quarter Sessions. Much of their more important work is done in larger towns by Recorders ; while in some places there is a stipendiary magistrate as well to deal with small offences daily.

(2) For civil cases there are the new County Courts, dating from 1846 ; these were intended to assist the settlement of small debts, but are also largely employed for more serious cases.

II. *The Central Courts in London.*—The old courts were in 1873 combined into one Supreme Court of Judicature. This was divided into (1) the High Court of Justice, with subdivisions named after the old courts ; and (2) the Court of Appeal. The final appeal, however, is to the House of Lords ; only the Lord Chancellor and the " Law-Lords " attend the House to hear such appeals. The Judges, once appointed, are irremovable, unless both Houses of Parliament agree to ask the Crown to dismiss one or more of them. Three or four times a year the Judges go " on circuit " round the country, and hold the assizes in the old form.

In England, since the Middle Ages, great importance has been attached to trial by jury. In any case of serious crime the offender's guilt or innocence is determined, not by the Judge, but by the twelve citizens forming the jury. In many civil cases a jury decides on the facts, and fixes the amount of damages. The Jury.

Scotland has her own legal system, resembling the Continental rather than the English practice. Thus, there is no jury in civil cases in Scotland. The local courts, too, have much more power, and do much more work, than in England. In Ireland, again, the legal system, though modelled on the English, differs in many details.

The Church.

Lastly, the King is "Supreme Governor of the Church of England," including Wales. The connection between the State and the Irish Protestant Episcopal Church was broken in 1869 (see pp. 69-70). In Scotland the Established Presbyterian Church has special privileges, but does not admit the interference of the State (see p. 75). All denominations and religious bodies are subject to the law of the land, but the Church of England stands in a peculiar relation to the State. Its doctrines and forms of service were settled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Parliament, and Parliament alone can alter them. Its chief officers—Archbishops, Bishops, and Deans—are appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Prime Minister, and their spheres of work are fixed by Act of Parliament. Its two assemblies—the Convocations of Canterbury and York—can only meet when summoned by the

Crown, and their decisions are not valid unless the Crown approves of them. Its ancient income in the shape of tithes is collected by law from owners and occupiers of land. But every Englishman is free to hold any religious creed or none, and no legal disability now attaches to those who dissent from the Established Church.

B. Local Government.

In the United Kingdom, as in every other civilized State, the Central Government has to leave a great deal of work and responsibility to the local authorities. It cannot undertake the humble duties of educating the young, caring for the poor and insane, cleaning and lighting the streets, and providing gas, water, and electricity, drainage, markets, police, tramways, and the many other things which are necessary to the existence of modern society. It can send out inspectors to see that the local authorities do their duty, but as a rule it has to trust to them, and to the force of local public opinion acting upon them, for the proper performance of their task. In some countries, like Germany and France, the Central Government tries to do more in purely local matters than in Great Britain, while in the United States it can do much less.

County and District Councils.

The old system of local government in England was based on the ancient division of the country into shires, hundreds, and parishes. The modern system, set up by the Acts of 1888 and 1894, which swept away many old abuses, is based on the division into counties, urban or rural districts, and parishes.

Many, but not all, of the urban districts are boroughs. In each division, large or small, there is an elected council which manages the affairs of that area, subject to the control of the district or county if it is a parish, or to that of the county if it is a district—unless the urban district is a large borough—and also in every case to the official supervision of the Local Government Board. These councils in England and Wales manage almost all local affairs. But in urban districts poor relief is administered by boards of elected guardians in areas known as Poor Law Unions, which do not always coincide with the urban districts. And the licensing of public-houses and theatres in England is managed by special committees of the Justices of the Peace, or unpaid magistrates, who are appointed by the Crown through the Lord Chancellor. Since 1902 the national system of education has been worked by the county and borough councils in England and Wales, although Scotland still has a School Board in every parish.

Councils.

There are sixty-two administrative counties in England and Wales, for several of the older counties were divided in 1888, and London was formed into a county by itself. There are seventy-six county boroughs, each with a population exceeding 50,000, which are almost independent of the counties in which they stand; and there are many lesser boroughs, ranking as urban districts, which are more or less subject to the county councils, though a urban district with a fairly large population need not be a borough. In the county and borough councils a certain number of Aldermen sit with the

elected councillors. The county Aldermen, to the number of one-third of the councillors, are chosen from within or without by the majority of the council. The borough Aldermen are chosen from the elected councillors, and are replaced as councillors by fresh popular elections. All ratepayers, men or women, can vote in council elections, and women as well as men may be elected to these local bodies.

State Control.

Parliament defines the duties and the powers of the councils. There are some things that they must do, suchas to provide police and schools; there are many things that they may undertake if they like, such as the provision of free libraries, or public baths, or the supply of gas, water, and tramways. It is the business of the Departments of State to see that the councils fulfil their legal obligations. The English Local Government Board was established in 1871 to supervise local authorities in general, and also to take over the duties of the old Poor Law Board, which superintended the work of the guardians of the poor. Scotland and Ireland have similar Boards of their own. The Board of Education takes care that they spend to the best advantage the large State grants that they receive for schools.

The Rates.

The cost of local government is very great, and tends to increase steadily year by year. In the years 1905-1907 the local authorities of the United Kingdom had a total income of nearly £136,000,000, which was almost equal to the revenue of the State. The local authorities also had loans outstanding to the amount of £568,000,000, or about three-fourths

of the National Debt. Their income has increased fourfold in forty years, because more and more has come to be expected of them by the public. Half of this local revenue is raised by rates, nearly a fourth in receipts from more or less profitable undertakings for the supply of gas, water, electricity, baths, tramways, and other services, and about a sixth in grants of money from the State.

A rate is a local tax which has to be paid, in England and Wales, by every person who occupies a piece of land or a house, and in Scotland by every person who owns land or houses as well. The rate is fixed at so much in the pound, and every person rated pays according to the rateable value of his land or house, which is valued or "assessed," at intervals of a year or longer, according to its yearly rent. When it is said that "the rates are going up," the meaning is that more pence or shillings out of each pound of his rateable value are demanded from the ratepayer. In some towns the occupier has to pay ten shillings in the pound for rates; in other words, his rates may be equal to half his rent, unless the rateable value is less than the rent.

Poor Relief.

One very heavy burden is the cost of poor relief. In the year 1905-06 no less than £14,000,000 was spent in England and Wales in the relief of the poor. This meant on an average 8s. 2¾d. per head of the population. The money was expended on workhouses, lunatic asylums, allowances to paupers outside the workhouses, interest and repayment of loans for buildings, salaries of officials, and other purposes. On January 1, 1908, there were nearly 900,000 paupers receiving relief, or one out of every

forty-four inhabitants. Apart from these, there were 112,000 lunatic paupers and 17,000 "casual" paupers, mostly tramps who seek shelter for a brief time in a workhouse, and then go away. The pauper population was thus larger than, say, the population of Liverpool. The great problem of the near future is how to diminish this army of helpless poor, two-thirds of whom are children under fifteen or aged people over sixty-five. For, although the proportion of paupers in the population is only two-thirds of what it was forty years ago, the actual number of paupers is larger than it was then, despite the growth of wealth and education in the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER XIII

DOWNING STREET AND THE COLONIES

The Colonial Office.

THE British authorities which exercise an oversight of Imperial affairs are often referred to as "Downing Street." This is the short street leading from Whitehall to St. James's Park in London, on one side of which the Prime Minister has his modest official residence, while on the opposite side is the stately building of the Colonial Office, whose head, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, acts for the mother-country in her daily business with the Colonial Governments. It is only since 1854 that the Colonial Office has been a separate Department of the British Government. Before that the Secretary for War had also looked after the colonies. Nowadays it is one of the most important of the Government Offices. The Colonial Secretary can recommend the Crown to disallow a Bill passed by a colonial legislature, so that he represents the Imperial connection between Great Britain and the colonies.

Self-Government.

The growth of the Colonial Office in importance has been due to a change in British public opinion regarding the colonies. Before the American colonies broke away from the mother-country, colonies were considered mainly as "plantations" to be worked for the benefit of Great Britain. When it

was found that our trade with America had greatly increased after 1783, though the real cause was the development of the new cotton trade with Lancashire (see p. 93), people hastily concluded that Great Britain might be as well off without any colonies at all. In the early days of Victoria's reign this view was very generally held by men of both parties. Self-government was granted to Canada in 1840-1848, to New Zealand in 1852, to Newfoundland and Australia (except Western Australia) in 1855, and to Cape Colony in 1872. Not much enthusiasm was felt in Great Britain for the new movement for colonial constitutions, as it was feared that it would lead very soon to separation, as in the case of the United States. But when experience had proved that the self-governing colonies were even more closely attached to the Empire than before, the British public began to look on them with renewed interest. The wonderful inventions of the fast steamship, the electric telegraph, and wireless telegraphy, have gradually brought the outlying parts of the Empire into intimate daily connection with its centre, and have thus enabled Great Britain to follow with close attention the rapid progress that has been made by the Dominions beyond the seas. The bonds of sentiment, race, commerce, and politics, that unite the Empire have grown and are growing stronger year by year.

The colonies and dependencies of the British Crown differ very widely among themselves in their circumstances, and therefore in their form of government. From an economic point of view, they may be divided into four groups :

The Colonies grouped.

1. Trading Centres, like Hong-Kong and Singa- ore, where British goods can be exchanged for the roducts of the neighbouring countries. The early nglish settlements in India were "factories" or ading stations of this kind, the first of which (see 301) were Surat (1613), Madras (1639), and Bombay 661). Other nations, and especially the Dutch, ill look on colonies largely from this point of view.

2. Protectorates and Spheres of Influence, like igeria and British East Africa. These vast regions ve been acquired because they promise to yield the near future great supplies of raw materials, ch as cotton and rubber, for the manufacturing dustries at home. By being placed under the itish flag they can be developed in full security means of railways, roads, and steamship services. ey are inhabited by black or coloured races, among om British settlers will never form more than a ry small minority, and therefore must be ruled by cial methods.

3. Exploitation Colonies, like the West Indies. ese have large British populations, but the jority of the inhabitants belong to the African or iatic races. The British inhabitants take the d, and the others perform all manual labour. e abolition of slavery in 1833 has changed the nation in the West Indies, but colonies of this e have their own difficulties of government.

4. Settlement Colonies, like Canada, Australia, l New Zealand. These are the best and highest es of colonies, in which emigrants from the her-country can set up the institutions to which y have been accustomed, without the evils of

poverty and overcrowding and the like, from which old countries suffer. To be completely successful, such colonies should have few aborigines, and should have a temperate climate and fertile soil. Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, fulfil these conditions perfectly; for though New Zealand has a considerable number of aborigines, the Maoris have proved themselves capable of citizenship in a modern State. South Africa is also suitable for European settlement, but her vast and rapidly increasing native population presents difficulties.

From a political point of view, the colonies are divided into a small group of Self-Governing Colonies or States and a large group of Crown Colonies.

Self-Governing Colonies.

1. The Self-Governing Colonies are—

The Dominion of Canada.
Newfoundland.
The Commonwealth of Australia.
The Dominion of New Zealand.
The Union of South Africa.

Each of these has a system of government similar in many ways to that of the United Kingdom. The Crown is represented by a Governor or Governor-General, and there is a Parliament of two Houses—the Senate or Legislative Council, sometimes nominated and sometimes elected, corresponding to the House of Lords; and the elected House of Commons or Legislative Assembly, possessing the same powers as the British House of Commons. The government is carried on by a Prime Minister, with a Cabinet representing as a rule the majority in the Lower House; he is nominally selected by the Governor, but must resign

when defeated in the Lower House. The great self-governing colonies thus manage their own affairs very much as the United Kingdom does; and Canada, for one, has gone so far as to make special trade agreements with several foreign Powers, with the approval of the British Government.

Crown Colonies.

2. The Crown Colonies, about fifty in number, are subject to the direct control of the British Government, acting through their Governors. None of them has a Ministry solely responsible to the majority of an elected assembly. They may be divided into three groups, according to the degree in which the executive power is subject to some sort of local oversight.

(*a*) In a few colonies, like Gibraltar or St. Helena, the Governor is supreme. He carries out the instructions of the home Government, but need take no account of colonial feeling.

(*b*) In seventeen colonies the Governor is assisted by an Executive Council to carry on business, and a Legislative Council to make laws. Both councils are appointed by the Crown, and contain no elected members.

(*c*) In the other colonies, such as Ceylon and British Guiana, the Governor's Executive Council is appointed by the Crown, but the Legislative Council is wholly or partly elected by the people.

India and Egypt.

Apart from the colonies stands the mighty Indian Empire, which is ruled absolutely by the Crown through the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and a Viceroy, controlled of course by the British Ministry of the day. Egypt, under British control, and the Sudan, a British-Egyptian pro-

tectorate administered by British officials, are two other important countries which come within the circle of British power, though they do not form part, strictly speaking, of the British Empire.

Mother-Country and Colonies.

None of the colonies is an independent State. All are subject to the British Crown, like the United Kingdom. The British Parliament passes Acts which bind even the self-governing colonies. Acts of Parliament were needed to unite the several provinces of British North America into the Dominion (1867), to federate the Australian States into the Commonwealth (1900), and to unite the four South African colonies (1909). The Crown alone appoints and dismisses colonial Governors, and can veto any colonial Bill with or without the Governor's recommendation that it should do so, though this power is seldom exercised. The Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council is a High Court of Appeal from all the law-courts in the colonies and India, and has sometimes to decide disputes between one branch of a colonial Parliament and another, or between the central Government and the local Governments, as in the case of the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Manitoba, which had a difference over Roman Catholic schools. On the other hand, the self-governing colonies enjoy so much freedom that they can and do impose very heavy import duties on British goods, and forbid the entrance of certain kinds of British subjects—as, for instance, South Africa, which restricts the immigration of natives of India. In regard to the Imperial Navy, which is of supreme importance for maintaining free communication between all parts of the Empire, the

larger self-governing colonies, Canada and Australia, are about to provide naval squadrons of their own, which will co-operate in war with the British fleet.

The combination of central control from Downing Street with the enjoyment of self-government in the large colonies makes the British Empire unlike any other Empire that ever existed. It is rendered possible by the sentiments of affection for the mother-country, and of pride in the strength and virtue of the Empire, which subsist throughout all the British realms.

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FIRST OFFICIAL UNIFORM WORN BY THE ROYAL NAVY, 1748.

ADMIRAL'S UNIFORM, 1907.

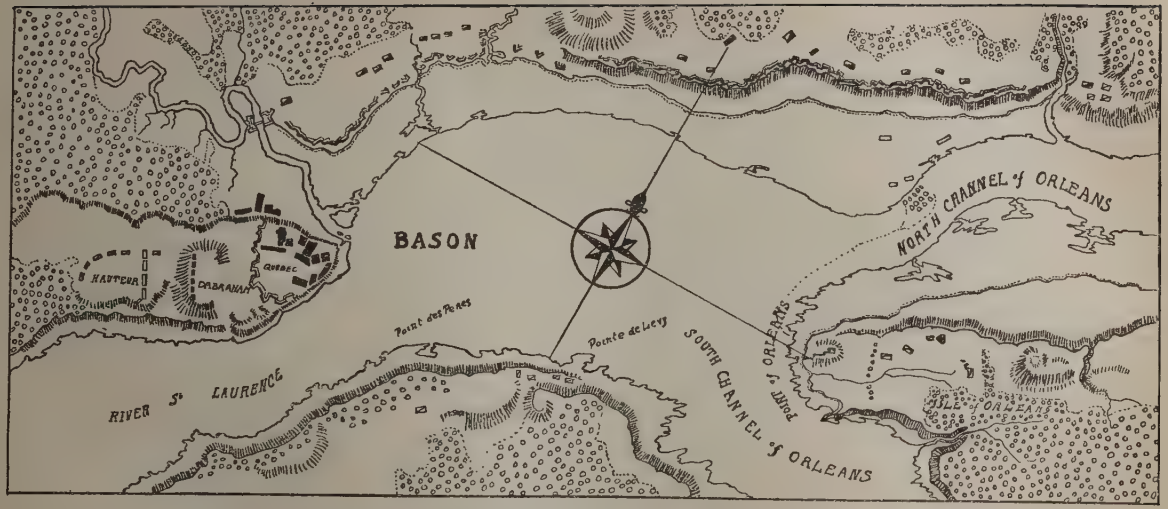
SKETCH OF WOLFE, DRAWN SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH.

WOLFE'S SWORD USED AT QUEBEC.

BOOK II

THE SELF-GOVERNING STATES

I. THE DOMINION OF CANADA (WITH NEWFOUNDLAND)
II. THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
III. THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND
IV. THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA



PLAN OF THE TOWN OF QUEBEC, DRAWN BY AN OFFICER DURING THE SIEGE.

I

THE DOMINION OF CANADA (WITH NEWFOUNDLAND)

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Area.

NORTH AMERICA is divided politically into two unequal parts. The southern and smaller part is the United States. The northern and larger part, excluding the United States territory of Alaska to the north-west and Danish Greenland to the north-east, forms the Dominion of Canada, with the great island of Newfoundland as a separate colony, which includes the adjacent coast of Labrador. Canada's Atlantic coast on the east and its Pacific coast on the west are 3,000 miles apart; from its southern border on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Valley, Canada extends for 2,000 miles to the shores of the Arctic Ocean. It has a total area of 3,750,000 square miles; it is nearly as large as Europe, and thirty times as large as the United Kingdom.

British North America consists of a vast central plain, with a broad and lofty mountain chain on the west, called the Rockies, and a smaller mountainous region on the east, called the Eastern Highlands. The natural route from Europe to the central plain is the estuary of the St. Lawrence River, which flows

from the five great lakes in the centre of the continent eastward through the Highlands to the ocean. At the mouth of the estuary or gulf lies Newfoundland, divided from Labrador on the north by the Strait of Belle Isle, and from Cape Breton Isle and Prince Edward Isle on the south by Cabot's Strait. To the north of the Great Lakes, and separated from them by a low watershed called the "Height of Land," lies Hudson's Bay, a vast and almost land-locked sheet of water, which is reached from the Atlantic by Hudson's Strait, and provides in summer-time an alternative route to the central plain. The northern part of this plain and the mountains to east and west are covered with forest, except along the Arctic shores, which are barren marshes, or "tundras." The southern part, along the American border, is open country famous for its fertility.

Rivers and Lakes.

Canada has four great river and lake systems. The eastern system, that of the St. Lawrence, is the most important. It drains into the Atlantic the five lakes—Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario. There are rapids between Superior and Huron, and the mighty Niagara Falls between Erie and Ontario. Passing out of Ontario through the Thousand Isles, the St. Lawrence is joined from the north-west by the Ottawa; at the junction stands Montreal, the chief Canadian city, to which ocean-going steamers ascend in summer. Below Montreal the St. Lawrence receives from the south the Richelieu, which drains Lakes George and Champlain, at the foot of the Adirondacks, and forms, with the Hudson Valley, a natural route between Montreal and New York. It was the Richelieu route that

Burgoyne followed in 1777 on his invasion of New York, which ended in his surrender at Saratoga (p. 59).

The three other river systems take their rise in the Rocky Mountains, and run east, north, and west, respectively. The eastward-bound system is that of the Saskatchewan, the union of two great rivers rising near one another in the Southern Rockies, which flows across the west central plains into Lake Winnipeg and out again, under the name of the Nelson, to Hudson's Bay. The Red River, flowing from the south across Manitoba into Lake Winnipeg, forms part of this system, and with it is also connected the Albany, which flows from Lake Winnipeg into Hudson's Bay. The plains watered by this series of rivers constitute the great wheat-field of Western Canada. The river system flowing northward, from a source in the Rockies very near to that of the Saskatchewan, is that of the Peace-Mackenzie, which includes the Athabasca. Lake Athabasca, Great Slave Lake, and Great Bear Lake, are drained by this mighty river on its way to the Arctic Ocean. Except in its upper reaches during summer, the river is of little value for navigation. West of the Rockies numerous rivers flow, usually in a south-westerly direction, through British Columbia to the Pacific. The chief of these, the Columbia, is for most of its course in United States territory. The Fraser River, reaching the Strait of Georgia near Vancouver, is the main natural highway of British Columbia. In the north the head-waters of the Yukon flow north-west into Alaska, and provide an easy route in summer to the Klondyke mines.

The great mountain barrier of the Rockies shelters Climate

British Columbia from the north and east, so that this province enjoys an equable climate, under the influence of the sea-breezes from the Pacific. Central Canada, on the other hand, has no mountains to protect it from the keen north winds in winter or the hot south winds in summer, and is thus liable to great extremes of temperature. The region immediately east of the Rockies is, however, favoured by a warm dry wind called the "chinook," which blows over the mountains and causes snow to disappear quickly. Eastern Canada is less cold in winter and less hot in summer than the interior, owing to the sea-breezes; but the St. Lawrence ports are ice-bound in winter, because the north wind brings down the cold currents from the Arctic. Halifax, on the Nova Scotian coast, and St. John, New Brunswick, in the sheltered Bay of Fundy, are, however, open at all times.

The mountainous and forest-clad island of Newfoundland—a third larger than Ireland—has prospered through its nearness to the Grand Banks, shallows which have for centuries been a famous fishing-ground for the sailors of Western Europe. It is still a separate colony, and exercises control over the barren coast of Labrador, along which are many summer fishing-stations.

The Provinces.

The Dominion of Canada is divided into eleven parts for political purposes. On the Atlantic coast are three provinces: (1) The peninsula of Nova Scotia, with the adjacent island of Cape Breton; (2) Prince Edward Island, to the west of Cape Breton; and (3) New Brunswick, occupying the inner peninsula between the St. Lawrence and the Bay of

Fundy. The Lower St. Lawrence Valley, which was the first part of Canada to be settled, forms (4) the Province of Quebec, or Lower Canada. The great and fertile peninsula between Lakes Erie and Ontario on the south and Huron on the west forms the kernel of (5) the Province of Ontario, or Upper Canada. Westward between Lake Superior and the Rockies, the great central plain has been divided into the three wheat-growing provinces of (6) Manitoba, (7) Alberta, and (8) Saskatchewan. British Columbia, the ninth province, includes the Pacific slopes of the Rockies. In the extreme north-west is (10) the Yukon Territory. All the rest of Northern Canada, from the Yukon to Labrador, is known as (11) the North-West Territories. It is proposed to divide the southern part of this region, south of Hudson's Bay, between the adjacent provinces of Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec.

CHAPTER II

FRENCH SETTLEMENT AND BRITISH CONQUEST

Jacques Cartier.

NEWFOUNDLAND was discovered either by Cabot in 1497 or by Cortereal in 1501. But it was not till 1534 that a French sailor, Jacques Cartier of St. Malo, began the discovery of Canada by sailing up the St. Lawrence Estuary. He reached what is now the site of Montreal in 1535, and founded a settlement lower down the river, near what is now Quebec, in 1540, but he achieved no lasting success. French Canada was first colonized in the early years of the seventeenth century. Pierre de Gua, a

courtier of King Henry IV., founded Port Royal on Annapolis Basin, in Nova Scotia, in 1604. His better-known Lieutenant, Samuel de Champlain, established a colony in 1608 at Quebec, which was to become the capital of New France. The English colonists of Virginia and New England were jealous of the new-comers, and in 1629 a British expedition took Quebec; but in 1632 Charles I. made peace with France, and gave up her conquest.

New France.

In the seventeenth century the Lower St. Lawrence Valley and the Atlantic coast were gradually occupied by settlers from Northern France, taken over by the men of rank and wealth to whom large tracts of land were granted by the French Crown. These seigniors took with them to New France the feudal system of Old France, and leased holdings to tenants on payment of a perpetual rent, with other conditions. But the abuses of the old feudal tenure were unknown in Canada. The seigniors and their tenants, or "habitants," were too dependent on each other in the struggle against natural difficulties and the savage Indians to cherish the old class differences. Moreover, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which was all-powerful in French Canada, and forbade the entry of Protestants, was exerted to maintain harmony among the settlers. The towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, with Montreal (which was founded in 1642), became important communities. A considerable trade in furs was carried on with the "Fur Indians" round Lake Superior, with the help of the Jesuit missionaries and the adventurous trappers known as "coureurs de bois." The Canadian Indians were treated as allies, and used in the

border warfare against New York and Maine, which was intermittent from the days of Charles II. to those of George III. French outposts were established, especially by Governor Frontenac, on the Great Lakes, to control the Indians and to serve the fur-traders. Frontenac, Niagara, Detroit (from 1700), and Michillimakinac between Lakes Huron and Michigan, were the chief of them. Later in the eighteenth century the French pushed their outposts south of the lakes to the Mississippi Valley, and built Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio, in 1754 to command the route, discovered by La Salle, which connected Upper Canada with Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi.

France *v.* Britain.

The horrors of the border warfare roused New England in 1710 to equip an expedition which, with a British fleet, captured Port Royal, and at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Acadia, comprising Nova Scotia, the province afterwards known as New Brunswick, and part of Maine, was ceded to Great Britain. By the same peace Great Britain secured the northwest territory around Hudson's Bay, where an English company had long traded for furs. The French now built a powerful fortress, Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton, and thus retained their command of the St. Lawrence Estuary. Louisbourg was a haunt of privateers which preyed on New England shipping, just as the Canadian Indians preyed on New England and New York farmers. The French advance into the Ohio Valley was a direct menace to the Pennsylvania settlers. All these long-standing quarrels came to a head in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which settled them by making Canada British (see pp. 47-9).

mostly Protestant in religion, migrated to Canada at this time. Their coming greatly strengthened Canada as a British colony. The harsh treatment which they had suffered in the American colonies made them eager to defend their new country against American aggression.

The Canada Act.

At the same time the Loyalists clung to the democratic ideas that prevailed in their old homes. They soon began to protest against the wise but autocratic rule of the Governor, Carleton (now Lord Dorchester), and to claim a share in the management of their own affairs, whereas the French Canadians had been accustomed to paternal government. The British Parliament, anxious to avoid a repetition of the American troubles, passed in 1791 the Canada Act, dividing the colony into two provinces—Lower Canada, or Quebec ; and Upper Canada, or Ontario. To each province was given a Representative Assembly and a Legislative Council, or Upper House, of persons nominated by the Governor on behalf of the Crown. In Upper Canada the English land-tenure was introduced. A Protestant clergy was to be endowed by means of land-grants, while the Roman Catholic Church retained its old rights and properties. Upper Canada was governed by a Lieutenant-Governor, who was not responsible to the Governor-General of Canada unless he was residing in the province. As the Governor-General usually lived at Quebec, Upper Canada became in practice a separate colony. Lord Dorchester vainly pointed out the need for a strong Central Government, which was not formed till half a century later.

The War of 1812.

The war of 1812 with the United States checked

Canadian domestic quarrels, and gave all Canadians, whether of French or British descent, a common interest in defending their country. The British navy, after some reverses, swept American shipping off the seas. But the fighting on the Canadian frontier continued from 1812 to 1814 without decisive results. The Americans, whose militia, 500,000 strong, was as numerous as the whole population of Canada, hoped for an easy victory, if not for a welcome from the Canadians, who were thought to be discontented with British rule. Upper Canada, with its scanty population and its long undefended frontier on Lakes Erie and Ontario, seemed certain to be overpowered. Moreover, the Governor-General, Sir George Prevost, was weak and irresolute in face of danger, and until the close of the war he had very few regular troops at his disposal, because none could be spared from Wellington's army in the Peninsula. But the Canadian militia, under some enterprising leaders, offered an unexpectedly vigorous resistance, and the American forces were badly led. New England, too, strongly disapproved of the war. In the end, therefore, Canada contrived to hold her own.

Border Fights.

The American plan was to overrun Upper Canada, and then march eastward on Montreal, while another invading army came up from the south by way of Lake Champlain to that town. In 1812 an American force invaded Upper Canada, but was driven back by the Governor, Sir Isaac Brock, to Detroit, where it surrendered. A second invasion across the Niagara River was repelled at Queenston Heights, where Brock was killed. Next year the

Americans were successful in Upper Canada. They captured York and burned the Parliament House. They destroyed the British war-vessels on Lake Erie, and defeated the British army at Moravian Town, on the River Thames, where Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, was killed with many of his Indians. But two other American armies, moving on Montreal from the south and west, were beaten at Chateauguay by French-Canadian militia, and at Chrysler's Farm by a mixed force. In 1814, the last year of the war, the Americans again invaded Upper Canada, but near the Niagara Falls they were checked by an inferior force under Drummond at Lundy's Lane. Strong reinforcements were now sent from home. Washington was attacked and burned, out of revenge for the destruction of York in 1813. Prevost invaded New York State with a large force of Peninsular troops, but ignominiously retreated to the British flotilla on Lake Champlain. In the south an attack on New Orleans was repulsed with loss, before news came that peace had been signed at Ghent.

Colonial Unrest.

The war had made Canada a nation, but did not remove the causes of discontent. In Lower Canada the elected Assembly of French Canadians was always disputing with the nominated Council of British Canadians. The Assembly could not pass its Bills through the Council, and therefore would not vote supplies. Papineau, the French-Canadian leader, at last endeavoured to raise an armed revolt in 1837, but he found little support, and had to flee the country. In Upper Canada, in the same year, William Lyon Mackenzie attempted a similar rebel-

ion. The grievance of his party was that they were excluded from power by a clique of politicians, known as the "Family Compact," who controlled the Council, and enriched themselves at the expense of the community.

Lord Durham's Report.

Some change in the system of government was clearly needed. The British Government in 1838 sent out the Earl of Durham, a leading Whig statesman, to inquire into the reasons for Canadian unrest. In January, 1839, Durham presented his Report, which is famous for its statement of the principles of modern colonial government. Durham proposed to remedy Canadian grievances by establishing a Ministry responsible to the elected Assembly, as in Great Britain. Further, he proposed to reunite Upper and Lower Canada, which had been separated in 1791; he thought that this would strengthen the British connection, as the 400,000 British settlers in Upper Canada and the 150,000 British in Lower Canada would outnumber the 450,000 French Canadians. Lord Durham's fears of possible disloyalty among the colonists of French descent were not justified; he was wrong in supposing that the British settlers would all vote together as Britons and Protestants; and the union of the two provinces proved a failure. But the main principle of his Report, which was carried out by an Act of 1840, was entirely sound. Hitherto Canada had had representative government, with a Governor and Council who were not responsible to the electors. Henceforth she would have responsible government, on the British model, under a Governor acting on the advice of the Ministry, which in turn held office

only so long as it had a majority in the elected Assembly.

Lord Elgin.

The first Governor of reunited Canada was the tactful Lord Sydenham, who, unfortunately, died from the results of a riding accident in 1841. He made Kingston the capital, and smoothed away many old political quarrels. His successors were less fortunate, until Lord Elgin, Durham's son-in-law, was appointed. In his term of office (1847-1854) he set an example of impartial rule which all later Governors have followed. Lord Elgin treated British and French Canadians alike, despite the clamour of the British Conservative party. Passion ran so high that in 1849 a Conservative mob burnt down the Parliament buildings at Montreal, the capital since 1844, and subjected the Governor to personal violence, because he had not vetoed a Bill giving compensation to French sufferers in the rebellion of 1837. But Lord Elgin kept his presence of mind, refrained from ordering out the troops, and soon had the satisfaction of becoming a popular hero. Montreal lost the honour of being the capital, which was shared for a time by Toronto and Quebec alternately, and then transferred to Ottawa in 1858, on the suggestion of Queen Victoria.

Reciprocity.

Lord Elgin was not only a good Governor. He rendered a great service to Canada : first, by advising the home Government to repeal the Navigation Laws in 1849; and, secondly, by making a Reciprocity Treaty in 1854 with the United States, under which Canada enjoyed free trade with her great neighbour for twelve years. She thus recovered the prosperity which she had lost when the British Corn Laws were

repealed in 1846, and the British market was no longer reserved for Canadian wheat-growers. After 1846 the Canadian farmers and merchants had begun to agitate for union with the United States, so as to secure a market for their produce without paying the heavy American duties. The Reciprocity Treaty put an end to this movement, and enabled Canada to develop her farms and forests at a rapid pace.

Canadian politics from 1854 were better organized. John Macdonald, the British Conservative leader, formed an alliance with George Cartier, the French-Canadian leader; their chief opponent was George Brown, founder of the *Toronto Globe* and leader of the "Grits," or Radicals, but for twenty years party government in Canada was almost in abeyance. Macdonald and Cartier deprived the Protestant churches of the extensive lands which had been granted to them in excess of their needs, and settled another troublesome land question by abolishing the old French seigniorial system in Quebec, and compensating the seigniors for their loss of rents. A more serious matter was the increasing friction between Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada had by 1861 about 300,000 more inhabitants than Lower Canada, but each province sent an equal number of members to the Assembly. The French Canadians, with a minority from Upper Canada, controlled the House, and disregarded the majority of the British members. A fresh change in the constitution was demanded.

Confederation.

A permanent remedy was found in Confederation. Macdonald, Cartier, and Brown resolved to invite the Atlantic colonies to join with Upper and Lower

Canada in a federal union. This, it was felt, would lessen the jealousies between the two provinces. It would also strengthen Canada for defence against the United States, whose great armies, raised during the Civil War of 1861 to 1865, seemed to threaten the colony ; and it would give the Canadian farmers new openings for trade just as the American market was being closed to them by the abandonment of the Reciprocity Treaty. The mother-country encouraged the federal movement. A scheme was drafted after many conferences, and in 1867 the British Parliament passed the British North America Act, constituting the Dominion of Canada, which came into being on July 1, 1867. It was composed of Quebec and Ontario (hitherto called Lower and Upper Canada), of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Prince Edward Island had withdrawn temporarily from the agreement, and Newfoundland declined to join the federation.

The Atlantic Provinces.

The Atlantic provinces have been fortunate in their uneventful history. Nova Scotia became British by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Its capital and chief port, Halifax, was founded in 1749, and has ever since been our chief naval base in the North Atlantic. Nova Scotia had a representative Assembly as early as 1758, but did not obtain responsible government until 1848. Its main industries were fishing and timber-cutting. In the early nineteenth century, however, a large influx of Highland settlers began to farm the land, especially in the north of Nova Scotia and the adjacent island of Cape Breton, which has formed part of the colony since 1820. New Brunswick, the forest-land to the

FATHERS OF THE FEDERATION, 1867.

Reproduced from Agnes C. Laut's work on Canada, by kind permission of Messrs. Ginn and Company.

To face page 152.

t of the Nova Scotian peninsula, was first nized in 1761, and became a separate colony 1784. Its long frontier controversy with the hbouring State of Maine was not settled until 2, by the Ashburton treaty. Like Nova Scotia, btained responsible government in 1848. Its ital is Fredericton, but its chief town is the great t of St. John.

CHAPTER IV

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

e first great work of the Dominion was to acquire trol over the North-West. In 1867 Canada in- led only the country of the Great Lakes and the Lawrence Valley. Five years later it had been nded so as to take in the whole of British North erica, except Labrador and Newfoundland. The t interior westward and northward of Lake perior had for two centuries (1670-1870) remained preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose nder, Prince Rupert, gave the name of Rupert's nd to the region between the Rockies and Labra- . The company set up stations at which its nts bartered European goods with the Indians for s, and many of its French and Scottish hunters rried Indian women, whose children were known half-breeds, or métis. But it prohibited immi- tion, fearing lest settlers should drive away the -bearing animals.

The Hudson's Bay Company.

n 1783 the rival North-West Company was

founded by some Montreal merchants who desired to share in the fur trade, and the agents of the two companies carried on a bitter struggle, sometimes coming to blows. In 1811 the Earl of Selkirk tried to found a colony on the Red River, on land which was granted by the Hudson's Bay Company, but which was claimed by the North-West Company. The Scottish settlers were attacked in 1816 by the métis in the employ of the North-West Company; their Governor and twenty-six other persons were killed, and the settlement was almost destroyed. In 1820 the quarrel was ended by the sale of the North-West Company's rights to its older rival, and Lord Selkirk's colony was purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1837. Until 1870 the Hudson's Bay Company remained the sole authority in the North-West.

The Red River Rising.

Meanwhile the people of Ontario were becoming eager to trade and settle in this vast wilderness, which was now known to be a rich and fertile land. The Hudson's Bay Company had always taken care to discourage intending settlers by reports of the barrenness of the North-West and the savage character of its Indians. But public opinion compelled the new Dominion Government to buy out the company, and open its territory to colonists. This was done in 1869, the company receiving a large sum of money and extensive areas of land. Unluckily, the Canadian surveyors sent to the Red River gave the French half-breeds reason to suppose that they would lose their farms on the change of government. They rose under Louis Riel, and killed one Ontario loyalist. A British and colonial force,

under Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley, was sent against them in 1870, and easily restored order. Riel fled to the United States. Selkirk's old settlement on the Red River was now formed into the Province of Manitoba, which was admitted into the Canadian Confederation. In the past forty years Manitoba has become a populous and highly prosperous country, whose wheat-fields are among the wonders of the world.

The country west of Manitoba up to the Rockies and the Arctic was formed into the North-West Territories. But here, too, British, European, and American settlers have come in such numbers that new provinces have had to be made. In 1905 the region between Manitoba and the Rockies was divided into two provinces, the eastern being called Saskatchewan, and the western Alberta. To the north-west of these, on the Alaska border, is the Yukon Territory, famous for a dozen years past as a rich gold-field.

British Columbia.

Beyond the Rockies, which were first crossed by Alexander Mackenzie, an agent of the North-West Company, in 1792-93, British Columbia had been colonized from the Pacific coast somewhat earlier than the North-West. Great Britain and Spain had almost gone to war in 1791 over a dispute between the Spanish-Californian authorities and some British traders at Nootka Sound, in Vancouver Island. This dispute was compromised, but when the United States took over California they claimed all the Pacific coast to Alaska. This claim was at length dropped; the boundary was fixed in 1846 at the 49th parallel of North latitude, and further

questions as to the frontier, involving the island of San Juan and the Alaska boundary, were settled by arbitration in 1872 and 1903. Like the rest of Northern Canada, British Columbia, at first called New Caledonia, was under the Hudson's Bay Company. The early settlements were on Vancouver Island, which was made a Crown colony in 1849. But the discovery of gold on the mainland in 1856 soon caused a rush of immigrants, and British Columbia received its present name and was made a Crown colony two years later. The two colonies were united in 1866, and in 1871 British Columbia was admitted as a province of the Dominion. Prince Edward Island joined in 1873, and thus all British North America, except Labrador and Newfoundland, came under the control of the Dominion Parliament.

The Canadian Pacific Railway.

The one important condition made by British Columbia on entering the Dominion was that a railway should be built from the St. Lawrence to the Pacific, to bridge the great wilderness and pierce the lofty mountains which separated East and West. This enterprise absorbed Canadian energies and played a leading part in Canadian politics for many years. The veteran Conservative Premier, Sir John Macdonald, decided to give the work to two Montreal and Toronto companies which were to join forces. But in 1873 great scandal was caused by the discovery that one company had paid a large sum to the Conservative party funds, and Macdonald was compelled to resign office. The Liberals, under Alexander Mackenzie, who came into power, were less ready to spend money on the railway, and

British Columbia in its indignation threatened to secede from the Dominion. Depression in trade and a falling revenue led the Conservatives to propose a "National Policy" involving a protective tariff, and on this issue in 1878 they won a majority, and Macdonald again became Premier. He encouraged the formation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in 1881 to take over the transcontinental line, only a small part of which had been built, and complete it. The Dominion gave the company large grants of land, and advanced it £5,000,000. Sir Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona), an old Hudson's Bay Company agent, and his cousin, Sir George Stephen (afterwards Lord Mount Stephen), invested their whole fortunes in the railway, and devoted their time and energy to its building. Macdonald and his colleague, Sir Charles Tupper, compelled a somewhat reluctant Cabinet to assist the great enterprise. So rapidly was the work pushed on that on November 7, 1885, the last rail was laid, and trains could run from ocean to ocean.

Riel's Second Rising.

The military value of this great highway had been proved in the spring of that year. The Manitoba half-breeds, still fearful of losing their lands, again revolted, and summoned Riel from across the border to lead them. It was feared that the Indians would join the insurgents and massacre the settlers. Only a few Indians, however, took the war-path, and at Frog Lake murdered some white people. Six thousand Canadian volunteers were called out, under Major-General Middleton, and after a few days of skirmishing defeated and scattered the half-breeds at Batoche. Riel was captured, and hanged as a

traitor. Fifteen years before Canada had needed Imperial assistance against Riel; she was now strong enough to suppress a rising with her own forces.

Canada and the Empire.

Sir John Macdonald remained Premier till his death in 1891. He stood firm against an agitation for reciprocity, or mutual free trade, with the United States, holding that it would tend to separate Canada from the mother-country. He lived long enough to see the great railway, which he had done so much to create, becoming a success, and bringing thousands of settlers to the prairie provinces of the Far West. After his death the Liberals gained strength, and in 1896 came into power under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Quebec statesman. Their first act was to abandon the old idea of reciprocity with the United States, and give instead a preference in Customs duties to imports from Great Britain, in 1897. Two years later, on the outbreak of the South African War, the patriotism of the Dominion was shown by the despatch of a Canadian volunteer force to assist the British army. It took a leading part in the Battle of Paardeberg and the capture of General Cronje in 1900 (see p. 280), and proved to the world that Canada had become a nation. In 1909 the Dominion undertook to assist in the naval defence of the Empire, in accordance with a general scheme of which the mother-country and all the Dominions approved. Canada proposes to build a navy of her own, in Canadian shipyards, to co-operate with the Imperial Navy; and she has already taken over the Imperial naval stations at Halifax and Esquimalt.

CHAPTER V

THE DOMINION AND THE PROVINCES

The Constitution.

THE Dominion of Canada is a federation of nine provinces, with the Yukon District and the North-West Territories (pp. 138-9). There is a central Government at Ottawa, but there is also a Government in each province. The Dominion Ministry and Parliament represent all Canada, but the Ontario Ministry and Legislative Assembly, for example, are only concerned with the people of Ontario. Thus the Dominion resembles the United States in its governing system, and differs from the United Kingdom, in which the four countries are controlled by a single Ministry and a single Parliament for all purposes.

But the Dominion as a federation is unlike the United States, because its central Government has much more power. When the separate American colonies formed the Union, they agreed to give up certain powers to the Federal Government, but kept all the rest. On the other hand, when the Dominion was formed, the provinces were allowed to retain certain powers, but the Dominion Government was to be supreme in all the rest. In case of need the Dominion Ministry can veto a Bill passed by a provincial legislature, as it did in the case of the British Columbia Bill limiting the immigration of Japanese — a Bill which was contrary to the general policy of the Empire. But as a rule, when a provincial legislature passes a measure which the

Dominion Ministry regards as likely to interfere with a Dominion Act, or as outside the powers of a province, appeal is made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at Westminster, which decides between the Dominion and the province. The most famous cases of this kind were those of the Manitoba schools and the Manitoba-Ontario boundary.

The Dominion.

The main lines of division between the Dominion and the provinces were laid down in the British North America Act. The Dominion alone has to do with the public debt, laws regulating trade, national taxation and loans, the postal service, the census, military and naval defence, lighthouses, shipping, fisheries, coinage, banking laws, savings banks, weights and measures, bankruptcy and patents, copyright, the Indians, aliens, marriage, criminal law, and prisons. It may be noted that in the United States, for instance, each State can pass its own laws affecting marriage and divorce, so that persons might be legally married in one State and divorced in the next, at one and the same time. In Canada the law of marriage is one and the same in every province. This is an example of the stronger and more centralized form of government adopted in Canada, and illustrates its advantages. Besides these special powers, the Dominion deals with all other questions that are not entrusted to the provinces.

The Provinces.

The chief powers of a province are to amend its own constitution ; to raise taxes or loans for its own purposes ; to manage and sell its public lands and forests where they are not, as in the prairie provinces, reserved by the Dominion ; to manage local prisons

and asylums ; to raise licence duties for local purposes ; to carry out purely local works, including railways within the province, unless the Dominion declares them to have a national interest ; to administer justice and enforce its own local laws ; and, last but not least, to make laws for public education, on condition that the Church schools and their supporters retain all the rights which they had when the province was admitted into the Dominion.

Finance

The Dominion draws its revenue mainly from the Customs duties on goods brought into the country. Unlike Great Britain, it levies very few direct taxes, for indirect taxes are easier to collect and more popular. It derives part of its revenue from the sale of Crown lands, especially in the prairie provinces. The provinces, on the other hand, are not allowed to levy Customs duties, for trade is free throughout Canada. Therefore the Dominion pays them considerable sums yearly, calculated on a scale of population, in place of Customs and Excise. They also derive money from licences for the sale of drink and other purposes, as well as from the sale of public lands. As the needs of the provinces increase with the growth of population, they become more and more dependent on the central Exchequer for grants or loans.

All the chief Judges are appointed and paid by the Dominion, and, as in Great Britain, they hold office for life, and can only be dismissed by Parliament. Thus justice is better administered in Canada than in the United States, where most of the Judges are chosen by popular election for a short term of years, and are therefore reluctant to give any decisions

that might displease the electors. The criminal law is the same throughout Canada, and the civil law is the same in all provinces, except Quebec, which retains much of its special French law. The courts, except the Supreme Court, are managed by the provinces.

The Schools.

Education, under certain limitations, is controlled by the provinces. The French Roman Catholics of Quebec refused to run the risk of an English Protestant majority in the Dominion Parliament restricting the rights and revenues of their religious schools. Hence each province has to manage its own schools, and no race or religious body can interfere with the schools of any other race or religion. The Roman Catholics have many separate schools, supported at the public expense. The provinces devote large sums to their schools and colleges, and the Canadian people are in consequence well educated.

Parliament.

The Dominion Constitution in practice is much like that of Great Britain. The Governor-General, like the King, governs in name only ; he only acts on the advice of the Ministry. Parliament consists of two Houses—the Senate and the House of Commons. The Senators are appointed for life by the Governor-General on the recommendation of his Ministers. Quebec, Ontario, and the three Atlantic provinces combined must have twenty-four Senators each, the three prairie provinces have four Senators apiece, and British Columbia has three, making eighty-seven in all. The Senate was intended to act as a check on hasty law-making, and also to represent the provinces directly. In practice, the Senate, being

mainly composed of the nominees of the party in office, shows little independence. The House of Commons is far more powerful. Its members are elected at least every five years, though Parliament may be dissolved more often if the Ministry desires. Every grown man, who has lived in Canada for a certain time and is a British subject, can vote at elections. Quebec has sixty-five members, and the other provinces are represented equally in proportion to their inhabitants. Thus, a province one-fifth as populous as Quebec would have thirteen members, and so on. The numbers are fixed afresh after every census. In 1903 the proportions were fixed anew according to the census of 1901. Quebec was found to have 25,367 inhabitants for every one of her 65 members. This number, divided into the population of any other province, gave the number of members which that province should have in the House of Commons. Ontario therefore has 86 members, Nova Scotia 18, New Brunswick 13, Manitoba 10, British Columbia 7, Saskatchewan 6, Alberta 4, Prince Edward Island 4, and Yukon 1. These figures show the relative strength of the provinces. The members of both Houses receive a salary of £500 a year, and may speak in either English or French. By a curious provision, the Leader of the Opposition has an extra salary of £1,400.

The provinces in turn have their Lieutenant-Governors, appointed by the Dominion Premier, who act on the advice of the provincial Ministries. The Provincial Legislatures, including the Council of the Yukon Territory since 1909, are also

chosen by manhood suffrage. Only two of them, Quebec and Nova Scotia, have a Legislative Council, or Upper House, as well as an elected Assembly. Local government, as in Great Britain, is managed by elected councils. Each city in Ontario, for example, has a Mayor and Aldermen, each county a council headed by a Warden, and each township a council headed by a Reeve, so that the old English names are all preserved in this new country.

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Farming. CANADA'S prosperity depends on her farms. She is rapidly building up a manufacturing industry under her protective tariff, but agriculture is her main source of wealth. The Dominion and the Provincial Governments have done their utmost to train and educate the Canadian farmer ; to grant him freehold land on easy terms, so that most men farm their own land ; to help him, by means of railways and canals, to send his produce to market easily and cheaply ; to make known the excellence of Canadian foodstuffs in Europe and elsewhere ; and, in certain cases, to negotiate special commercial treaties for the benefit of the Canadian exporter.

Wheat. The older provinces still lead the way, despite the wonderfully rapid development of the West. Quebec and Ontario are noted for their dairy produce, large quantities of which are exported to Great Britain. Ontario is fertile especially in

the Lake Peninsula, and still yields more crops of all kinds than any other province, and more wheat than any other except Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Her northern district, beyond the Height of Land, has only been opened for settlement within the last few years ; this district, half as large as England, is said to be throughout good for wheat-growing. But the great tide of immigration flows farther west. In the four years 1904 to 1907, 700,000 settlers entered Canada, and most of them found homes in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The population of these prairie provinces doubled in the five years 1901 to 1906, and is yearly increasing by great leaps. Wheat is their chief product. The soil is more productive than that of the United States, and, as the population grows, the crop will increase rapidly. In 1908 the three prairie provinces produced 91,000,000 bushels of wheat, out of Canada's total of 112,500,000 bushels—enough to feed half the people of Great Britain. But other crops are grown, and cattle and horses are reared. Farther west, across the Rockies, in British Columbia, fruit-farming is practised on a large scale, as it is also in Ontario and in Nova Scotia. Everywhere the land that had lain idle since the world began seems to reward its cultivator.

Timber.

Canada possesses great wealth also in the dense pine-forests that extend right across the northern part of the Dominion, and are especially luxuriant in New Brunswick and British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec. The trees are cut in the autumn or winter, hauled across the snow to the nearest stream, carried down by the spring floods, and then made

up into rafts, which are floated down to the nearest town. Ottawa and Three Rivers are important centres of this industry, which affords employment for thousands of men as "lumberers," who cut down the trees, or as workers in the saw-mills and the furniture factories, where much of this cheap timber is used. Large quantities of timber are exported to Great Britain and the United States. Much, also, of the inferior wood is converted into wood-pulp for paper-making, a large and ever-increasing industry.

Coal.

Canada is very rich in minerals. Coal was discovered in the seventeenth century in Cape Breton Island, and has long been worked there and in Nova Scotia. All these coal-mines were in 1827 given by the Crown to the Duke of York, and by him transferred to his creditors, who formed a company to work the mines. Thirty years later, however, this monopoly was upset, and the company was deprived of the mines it had not worked. Coal has been mined for sixty years in Vancouver Island, especially at Nanaimo, near Victoria and Esquimalt. It is also found in the Rockies; the Crow's Nest Pass coalfield, first discovered in 1896, near the American border, is now one of the most productive in Canada. This discovery of coal in the centre of the continent has been of great benefit to the new cities and to the railways running across the prairies. Iron ore is found, especially in Ontario, round Lake Superior, but is not as yet very largely worked. The chief steel-works are at Sault Ste. Marie and at Sydney, Cape Breton; they work mainly with imported ore, and produce steel rails.

Gold.

Gold occurs in all the provinces, especially Nova

Scotia, British Columbia, and the Yukon Territory. The rush of gold-seekers to the Yukon in 1897 has been followed by steady development, in spite of the Arctic climate and the difficulty of working the frozen gravel. A railway has been made over the mountains from Skagway, and the goldfield at the junction of the Klondike River with the Yukon is now a thriving and civilized community, though the output has temporarily declined. In 1908 Canada produced gold to the value of nearly £2,000,000, about 2 per cent. of the world's output. Very rich silver deposits were found in the Cobalt district of Northern Ontario in 1903; one-tenth of the world's output of silver now comes from this province. Here also, near Sudbury, is the chief known deposit of the rare metal nickel. Other metals and minerals are worked, especially in the Rocky Mountains.

Fish and Fur.

Canada is fortunate, too, in her fisheries on both sea-coasts and in the many lakes and rivers. The Atlantic provinces send fishing-fleets to the Grand Banks off Newfoundland, and have large lobster-canning and oyster-rearing industries. The French Canadians carry on a fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The rivers of British Columbia yield immense quantities of salmon, which are canned for export. The same province sends out vessels to the Behring Sea seal-fisheries, which were formerly claimed by the United States as an American preserve, but now, after many years of diplomatic controversy, are recognized as open to both Canadians and Americans and others. The fur-bearing wild animals, which first attracted British traders and hunters to Hudson's

Bay, and the French "coureurs de bois" to the Great Lakes, still bring wealth to Canada. The skins are collected by Indians in the far north, and sold to agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, to the value of about £400,000 a year. The advance of civilization has driven the silver fox, beaver, and other animals, from their old haunts. But the wild life of Canada, as it was within living memory, may always be seen in the Algonquin National Park, a large district in Central Ontario where settlement or shooting is forbidden, and the animals range the forest undisturbed.

Manufactures.

Canada was long content to trade in the produce of her farms and forests. The British Navigation Acts gave Canadian and other colonial imports an advantage in the British market, and Canada depended on Great Britain for manufactured goods. But the adoption of Free Trade at home, the abolition of colonial bounties, and the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849, changed the situation. Canada, being now free, soon resolved to develop her own manufactures by a protective tariff, and Sir John Macdonald carried Protection to a very high pitch after his victory in 1878. Sir Wilfrid Laurier modified this policy in 1896 by giving a preference to British imports, at first of an eighth less on the ordinary duties, and later of a third; but though Canadian manufactures are still protected against their competition, British imports, instead of continuing to decline, have increased.

About 400,000 people are employed in manufactures. Apart from the great iron and steel works of Nova Scotia, the chief factories of Canada are at

Toronto and Montreal. Agricultural implements, furniture, woollens, are among the chief products, and five-sixths of the manufactured goods that Canada buys are made in the country. Implements, steel rails, machinery, and cutlery, are imported in large quantities from the United States and Great Britain.

Canals.

With her long land and river frontier towards the United States, Canada naturally carries on a considerable trade with her southern neighbours. But the whole tendency of successive Canadian Governments has been to create trade-routes running east and west, so as to bind the western provinces more firmly to the older settlements, and to develop the export trade in grain from the West to Great Britain. The first task was to improve the navigation of the St. Lawrence, both by deepening its channel and by cutting many canals, in order to avoid the falls and rapids, so that vessels of considerable size might pass between the Upper Lakes and the Atlantic—a distance of over 2,000 miles ; while Montreal, though 1,000 miles from the ocean, has remained a great sea-port. The chief canals on this route are the Welland Canal, round the Niagara Falls, which is twenty-seven miles long, and was first made in 1824-1832 ; and the short Sault Ste. Marie Canal, connecting Lakes Superior and Huron, which was opened in 1895, so that Canadian vessels might not have to pass through the parallel American canal. North of the St. Lawrence numerous small canals have been made, connecting the chief tributaries, providing easy communication between the large towns, and enabling logs to be floated down from

the forests to various centres of the timber trade. The earliest of these was the Rideau canal system, carried out in 1827-1834 by Colonel By, after whom Ottawa had its first name of Bytown. Ottawa and Kingston are connected by this canal system, which links the Rideau and Cataraqui Rivers. Another series of canals unites Ottawa and Montreal, while south of Montreal, on the Upper Richelieu, there are canals linking that river to the Hudson, and providing a waterway to New York. A more important scheme is projected by which, from Georgian Bay on Lake Huron, canals will lead along the Trent Valley across Ontario Province to Lake Ontario. This would cheapen and quicken the transport of grain from the West by water to Montreal, and compete with the railways on this route.

Railways. Despite her numerous rivers and lakes, on most of which steamers ply, and her canals, modern Canada owes her rapid development mainly to her railways. The first Canadian railway, running sixteen miles inland from La Prairie opposite Montreal, was opened in 1836, but no real progress was made till 1851. In that year the building of the Grand Trunk line through Quebec and Ontario was begun. Montreal was connected in 1853 with the Maine border, and thence, by an older American line that had been bought, with Portland on the Atlantic coast. Toronto and Montreal were joined by rail in 1856. A connection with Chicago was obtained by purchase in 1879. The Grand Trunk Railway now controls over 5,000 miles of line. The second great Canadian line in order of date was the Intercolonial Railway, connecting the Atlantic provinces

by a purely Canadian route with Quebec. This was begun by the Dominion Government, with an Imperial guarantee of interest on the capital, in fulfilment of a promise to the Atlantic provinces that confederation should give them a direct railway route. It was completed from Halifax to Rivière du Loup, on the Lower St. Lawrence, by 1876, but did not obtain a through connection with Montreal until 1898. It is about 1,500 miles long.

Through Routes.

Next came the building of the first transcontinental line, the Canadian Pacific Railway, completed in 1885 and opened in 1886, at a cost to the Dominion alone of £20,000,000, apart from private capital invested in it. This great company has about 14,500 miles of line, counting the main line between Halifax and Vancouver and the many branches, and ocean steamers on both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, thus giving a through route of 12,000 miles from Western Europe to China. Two other railways from sea to sea are in course of construction. The National Transcontinental or Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, begun in 1904, and to be opened, perhaps, in 1911, will run from Moncton, New Brunswick, to Quebec, thence across Northern Quebec and Ontario to Winnipeg, thence to Edmonton and through the Rockies to Prince Rupert, a new port on the Pacific coast, 500 miles north of Vancouver. This railway, 3,500 miles in length, which will open up the prairies to the north of the Canadian Pacific line, is receiving State aid ; the Dominion is building the eastern half as far as Winnipeg, and will lease it to the company, besides guaranteeing interest on the capital required

to build the northern section. A third great railway is the Canadian Northern System, which had its origin, in 1896, in a short line in Northern Manitoba, but now, by various purchases and much rapid construction, owns about 3,300 miles of railroad. Its main line runs from Port Arthur, on Lake Superior, through Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan to Edmonton, Alberta ; it owns a line from Toronto to Sellwood, in Western Ontario, and another from Quebec to Ottawa, which will soon be connected with the main line, and give a through route from Quebec to Edmonton. A westward extension from Edmonton through the Rockies, by the Yellowhead Pass, will reach the Pacific at Victoria, and an eastward extension from Quebec will touch the Atlantic at St. John, New Brunswick, and Halifax, thus giving Canada a third railway route from ocean to ocean. The plough and the store follow the locomotive in the prairie provinces, and these two new railways must give a great impetus to the settlement of the more remote North-West.

Ports.

The chief ports on the Atlantic side are Quebec and Montreal in summer, and Halifax and St. John in winter, when the St. Lawrence is blocked with ice. Sir Samuel Cunard of Halifax was the first to establish a regular steamship service between Canada and Britain by the Cunard Line in 1840. The Allan Line began its regular service from Montreal sixteen years later. The Canadian Pacific Company bought some fast Atlantic liners in 1901, twelve years after they had commenced their service to the Far East from Vancouver, the chief western port of Canada. The large and ever-growing exports

JOHN CABOT AND HIS SONS RECEIVE A CHARTER FROM KING HENRY VII., 1497.

From the fresco in the British Houses of Parliament.

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of grain and farm produce from Canada to Europe provide cargoes for many other vessels besides the regular liners.

CHAPTER VII

NEWFOUNDLAND

NEWFOUNDLAND was probably discovered by John Cabot. Cabot, an Italian sailor in the service of Henry VII., in 1497, though it is uncertain whether Cabot did not, in fact, touch land at Cape Breton, on the south side of Cabot's Strait. Early in the sixteenth century its fisheries became known to Western Europe, and French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English fishing-fleets began to frequent the Newfoundland harbours, and perhaps to erect rude shelters. Under Henry VIII. the English fishermen visiting Newfoundland were freed by Act of Parliament from various taxes, and under Elizabeth they claimed precedence of their foreign rivals in these Northern waters.

A vain attempt was made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 to found a colony; he himself was lost on the return voyage. Forty years later Lord Baltimore made another attempt, with equal lack of success, and transferred his attention to Maryland. The Devonshire merchants who sent out the fishing-fleets disapproved of colonists, as the Hudson's Bay Company did in the North-West of Canada; and under Charles II. the Government tried for a time to expel the few fishermen and settlers from Ireland and England who had made homes for themselves on the south-east coast. The official theory was

that Newfoundland was "a great ship moored near the Banks during the fishing season for the convenience of English fishermen only." Not until 1813 was it legally possible for a Newfoundlander to buy land or build a house. But the settlers clung to the soil, and were reinforced by some more immigrants from Ireland, so that at the dawn of the eighteenth century St. John's was a village important enough to be taken and burned by the French. In 1729 the island received its first civil Governor, who, like most of his successors, was a naval officer, and not long after a Supreme Court was established at St. John's. The native Indians, called Beothiks, gave the colonists much trouble, but were gradually exterminated, partly by force, and partly by the severe winters of the interior, where they took refuge.

The Fishing Admirals.

The European fishing-fleets that came every summer long had the upper hand in Newfoundland. Under William III., it is said, 300 English ships with 15,000 sailors, and 400 French ships with 18,000 sailors, annually frequented the Banks and used Newfoundland harbours. They were controlled by "Fishing Admirals," chosen according to an old custom. The first captain to enter a harbour was admiral and master of it so long as he remained, and administered justice according to his own ideas. Until the nineteenth century, these "Fishing Admirals" gave the Governor and the colonists a great deal of trouble, because they recognized no rule but their own.

French Claims.

The French had strong claims on Newfoundland, both through their early use of its fisheries and through their settlement of Placentia, which

Charles II. formally admitted. Hence, in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713), there was much fighting in Newfoundland waters. By the Peace of Utrecht, the French gave up Placentia, but retained the right to fish and to dry the cod along a strip of coast. France esteemed the fishery not so much for its commercial value, as because it was a good training-ground for seamen. After the Seven Years' War, the French, though losing Canada, were allowed to keep the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the south coast of Newfoundland, as well as their fishing rights. Again, the Treaty of Versailles, after the American war of 1776-1783, confirmed the French rights, though the "French shore" was transferred to the west of the island. In later years the French claimed an exclusive right to the use of this shore, and this led to a long dispute between the British Government, anxious not to quarrel with France, and the Newfoundlanders, who wanted to settle on the "French shore." At last, in 1904, the French rights over the coast were given up in exchange for territory in West Africa.

American Claims.

The fisheries also led to a long dispute with the United States. By a British-American convention of 1818, the United States secured fishing rights on part of the Newfoundland and Labrador coast, and permission to enter the harbours for wood and water, but not for bait. Under the Washington treaty of 1871, the United States paid 5,500,000 dollars to Canada for fishing privileges, and a million out of this sum was Newfoundland's share. The Newfoundlanders have resented the visits of American fishermen, because the United States will not admit

Newfoundland fish free of duty, and they have at times refused to sell bait to the Americans. A compromise was attempted in 1891 by the Bond-Blaine treaty, but as this favoured America at the expense of Canada it was not sanctioned by the Imperial Government. At last in 1910 the dispute was ostensibly settled by an arbitration court, which defined exactly the fishing rights assured to America by the 1818 convention.

Responsible Government.

Newfoundland did not obtain a legislature until 1832, and did not secure responsible government until 1855; for, though the oldest of the North American colonies, it was the slowest to develop. The fierce faction fights between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which enlivened the early years of the new system, showed that the colony was none too ready for democratic government. The main political question for Newfoundland has been that of confederation with Canada. Like Prince Edward Island, she held aloof when the Dominion was formed, and, unlike the smaller island, has so far declined to change her mind. In 1894-95, when a great fire at St. John's and bad fishing seasons had brought distress, Newfoundland offered to join the Dominion on certain terms, but the Canadian Ministry allowed the opportunity to slip. The Newfoundland Legislature consists of a nominated Council and an elected Assembly of thirty-six members; all are paid salaries. Elections, turning on local issues, are very keenly fought. In 1908 the returns showed a tie, each party having eighteen members.

The colony, which owes its origin to the fisheries, still depends largely on them for its means of sub-

sistence. Two-thirds of its exports are dried cod, caught both on the Banks and inshore, which finds a ready market in Southern Europe. The seal-fishery on the Labrador coast, conducted in the spring when the ice-floes break up, is also valuable. Lobster-canning and herring-fishing (for bait) are also carried on.

Industries.

Looking to the sea for a livelihood, the Newfoundlanders have naturally neglected the forest-clad interior until within recent years. The population is small, numbering only 221,000 in 1901, and has not the capital for great public works that are not absolutely necessary. However, Canadian steel-makers have opened iron-mines on the coast near St. John's, and large quantities of ore are exported to Sydney. Copper, gold, and other metals, asbestos and coal, are also found. But the manufacture of wood-pulp for paper-making from the abundant timber promises to be a more important industry, now that British and American capitalists are acquiring forests and building mills.

The Government owns the railways, which connect St. John's with the neighbouring ports, and cross the island to Port aux Basques on the south-west coast. The main line was built after 1890 by Sir R. G. Reid, as contractor for the Government. The financial panic of 1895 induced the Government to hand over the railway, the telegraphs, and other works to the contractor, paying him for his services in working them by large land grants. This bargain caused much discontent, and was upset at the elections of 1900, after which the colony resumed control of the railway, telegraphs, and lands.

Labrador. The adjacent coast of Labrador was annexed to Newfoundland in 1763, and remains part of the colony, though for a time (1773-1809) it was attached to Quebec. Labrador is equal in size to the United Kingdom, but it has only a few thousand inhabitants, except during the fishing season. Battle Harbour, on the Strait of Belle Isle, is the chief port. Various Moravian missionary stations are scattered along the northern coast, and the Hudson's Bay Company has a few posts. The coast is barren, but the valleys are well wooded, and attract many sportsmen in summer.

NORTH-WEST CANADA
MEDAL, 1885.

II

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

THE Commonwealth comprises the great island-continent of Australia, with the adjacent island of Tasmania on the south, and the south-eastern corner (known as Papua) of the island of New Guinea on the north, together with many smaller islands, including Norfolk Island, which lies in the Pacific, 900 miles north-east of Sydney. Australia is 2,400 miles wide from east to west, and about 2,000 miles from north to south; it has a total area of about 2,900,000 square miles, and is thus nearly three-fourths the size of Europe, and twenty-four times as large as the United Kingdom. Tasmania, 26,000 square miles in area, is nearly as large as Scotland. Papua is about 90,000 square miles in area, or about the same size as Great Britain. Area.

Australia is naturally divided into three distinct sections—the Western Tableland, the Great Central Plains, and the Eastern Highlands. The Western Tableland covers the larger half of the continent. It rises steeply from the coasts, and is composed mainly of very old rocks, covered over a vast area The Western Tableland.

with sandy wastes. There are narrow plains along the western and north-western coasts, and a larger plain in the middle of the southern coast. Low mountain ranges skirt the western edge of the plateau on the south-west (the Darling and Stirling Ranges), and on the north-west and north. From these ranges short rivers run down to the sea—the Swan in the south-west ; the Murchison, Gascoyne, and Ashburton, in the north-west ; and the Fitzroy and other streams in the rainier region farther north. In the centre of Australia the plateau rises into two considerable ranges, the MacDonnell and the Musgrave, with the shallow Lake Amadeus between them.

Great Central Plains.

East of the tableland lie the Great Central Plains, stretching from the Gulf of Carpentaria on the north, to the Spencer and St. Vincent Gulfs on the south. This is the best-watered part of Australia. The Flinders River and lesser streams drain the northern plains. In the west centre of the plains lies Lake Eyre, which receives the Diamantina and Cooper's Creek from the north-east. Other lakes—Gairdner, Torrens, and Frome—lie to the south, on either side of the Flinders Range. The eastern and southern plains are drained by the chief Australian river system, that of the Darling-Murray, with its many tributaries, such as the Murrumbidgee, Lachlan, and Warrego. From its most remote source to the sea, at Lake Alexandrina on the south, it is 3,800 miles long. It rises in the Highlands only eighty miles from the eastern coast. But its flow is unequal, as the hot, dry plains through which it passes for hundreds of miles absorb too much of the stream. Sometimes it does not discharge any

water into the ocean. The Murray Basin is the great pastoral and farming country.

Eastern Highlands.

The east and south-east of the continent is shut in by the Eastern Highlands, which stretch from Cape York on the north to Bass Strait on the south, and are continued in the mountains of Tasmania. These Highlands, a series of high plateaux rather than a mountain range, are broadest in the north centre, where the Rivers Burdekin and Fitzroy flow east to the sea. They are narrower and loftier at either end, especially in the Australian Alps of the south, where Mount Kosciusko rises to 7,250 feet. North of this range are the Blue Mountains, west of Sydney. The Highlands rise steeply from the sea, but slope gradually inland towards the central plains. Hence they impeded early exploration of the continent. Along the northern part of the east coast stretches the Great Barrier Reef of coral, from 25 to 150 miles off shore, with a few openings opposite the river mouths.

Climate.

The northern half of Australia lies within the tropics; the south only is in the temperate zone. The northern half is exposed to the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, which bring summer rains; while the southern half is affected, especially in the winter, by the variable and rain-laden westerly winds blowing across the Southern Ocean. The east coast is kept cool and well watered by the south-east trade winds, which are intercepted by the Eastern Highlands. The centre of the continent seldom has rain, except from an occasional monsoon in summer. Sudden changes of weather are frequent in winter, when the hot, dry wind from the north gives place

to a cold, wet wind from the south. The greater part of Australia enjoys a moderate temperature, though in the interior the summer days are very hot, and the winter nights sometimes cold enough to freeze water. Snow lies in winter on the Australian Alps and the high plateau adjacent, but is seldom seen in the plains.

Rainfall.

While the temperature is favourable to vegetation at all seasons, the rainfall is irregular or insufficient over large areas. It decreases generally as one goes inland from the coast. The interior of the Western Plateau sometimes has a rainless year, and seldom has a rainfall of more than 6 inches. Besides, the dry, hot winds from the north take up so much moisture as they pass that the land loses more than it receives in rain; for this reason the arid interior tends to become more arid still. Generally speaking, Northern, Eastern, and South-Eastern Australia have sufficient rain, and the south-western coasts are equally fortunate. Tasmania, also, thanks to its high mountains, has abundant rain. Upon the distribution of the rainfall depends the distribution of Australia's industries. In the hot, moist north are grown sugar and other tropical products, and maize farther south. Wheat is cultivated in the east central plains and the south-west, while the west central plains are devoted to the grazing of sheep. In the south-west, south-east, and north, there are considerable forests, but the interior is covered mainly with low scrub, dwarf gum-trees, and acacias.

Settlements.

The early colonists naturally settled on the fine natural harbours or river estuaries, and cultivated the fertile coast plains. It was long before they

were able to cross the steep coast ranges and develop the resources of the central plains and plateaux. Sydney on Port Jackson, Melbourne on Port Phillip, Brisbane on the Brisbane River, Adelaide not far from the shore of St. Vincent Gulf, and Perth on the Swan River, were the chief settlements, and are the capitals of the five States—New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia—into which the continent has been divided. The island of Tasmania, with its capital, Hobart, on the Derwent, was a separate colony. Vast stretches of unoccupied territory divided these settlements from one another for many years. Even now Western Australia is cut off by the great desert from South Australia; while the Northern Territory —formerly part of South Australia, but now transferred to the Commonwealth—which occupies a broad strip across the centre of the continent, is still unconnected by rail with any State. But all the chief eastern centres are linked by railways, which are being pushed farther into the interior year by year, and will at no distant date cross the continent both from east to west and from south to north.

CHAPTER II

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

Early Explorers.

AUSTRALIA was the last of the great continents to be discovered by Europeans. In the early sixteenth century the Portuguese and the Spaniards sailed the Malay seas, a few hundred miles to the north of

Australia, and established colonies in the Spice Islands, to the north-west, and the Philippines. The Portuguese were in New Guinea by 1526. Map-makers imagined a great southern continent in the South Pacific. But apparently no navigator, whether Portuguese or Spanish, ever sighted it until, in 1605, Luiz de Torres, second in command to De Quiros, who had brought a Spanish squadron from Peru and discovered the New Hebrides, sailed his own ship westward between New Guinea and Australia by the straits which now bear his name. Torres, however, took the coast to be a line of islands. Next year the *Duyfken*, a small Dutch vessel from the new Dutch colony of Batavia (Java), sailed along the south coast of New Guinea, but, missing the straits, went southward into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and returned with a report that there was no eastward passage by way of New Guinea.

Later, Dutch sailors, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and setting their course eastward across the Indian Ocean, reached the Australian mainland. Dirk Hartog, in the ship *Eendragt* (or *Concord*), visited Shark's Bay, Western Australia, in 1616. Other Dutchmen touched at various points from Nuyts Archipelago, Southern Australia, to Cape Leeuwin, and up the west coast to Arnhem Land. In 1642 Antony van Diemen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, sent out Abel Tasman to explore the mysterious southern land still farther. Tasman sailed along its southern coast, and discovered Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land. He then set his course eastward across the Tasman Sea, and in nine days made another great discovery by

Australia, or New Holland, and he called the coast along which he had passed for 2,000 miles New South Wales.

Cook reported most favourably on the new land. Joseph Banks, a wealthy young man who sailed with the expedition as botanist, formed an equally high opinion of New South Wales as a possible colony, and brought it to the notice of statesmen at home. He seems, indeed, to have exaggerated the fertility of the shores of Botany Bay. However, Banks's enthusiasm soon bore fruit. The Government, having lost the American colonies, was unable to send any more convicted criminals there. The prisons became overcrowded, and a new and distant colony was needed to receive convicts. Joseph Banks suggested that they should be sent to New South Wales. Accordingly, on May 12, 1787, Captain Arthur Phillip left England for Australia with a squadron carrying a thousand convicts for Botany Bay.

The Aborigines.

The new continent for which they were bound was not uninhabited. In prehistoric times a Caucasian race, allied to the hill tribes of Southern India, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the ancient Egyptians, had made its way through Malaya to Northern Australia, and spread southward over the continent, perhaps driving before them the primitive negroid race which was found in Tasmania by the first British colonists, but which died out by about 1850. The Australian "black-fellows," as the natives are called, were isolated from the rest of the world for so many centuries, and had such difficulties in obtaining food and water, that they seem

as peculiar in their modes of life as the characteristic animals and plants of Australia — the kangaroo, wallaby, duck-billed platypus, and spiny anteater, and the gum-trees and tree-ferns. The natives were divided into small tribes, and lived by hunting, each in its own district. They did not till the ground, but were content to take what Nature provided in the shape of wild fruits. They had no permanent huts and no clothes. Their implements were of stone, wood, or bone. Like the Maoris of New Zealand, they were ignorant of the use of metals. Each tribe was governed by a council of the elder men, and each had its own elaborate customs, especially in regard to marriage. Each tribe, too, living apart from the rest, tended to develop a language or dialect of its own. In one district of Queensland, for instance, seven different languages, one of them with five distinct dialects, are spoken by the native tribes, none of which has more than 300 members. The "black-fellows" were at first friendly to Europeans, and have generally given little trouble to the settlers except in a few districts. The tribes were too distrustful of each other to combine against the white man, and, as they were not cultivators, they did not seriously object to his presence. Many of them have been employed by the colonists, and have rendered useful service as guides across the desert interior, or as trackers after runaways or travellers lost in the Bush.

Phillip.

It was fortunate for Phillip, who arrived at Botany Bay in March, 1788, just a week before a French expedition, that he had no hostile natives to contend with. The harbour proved to be unsafe, and

its shores swampy and infertile. His convict charges were ignorant of farming, lazy, and mutinous, and provisions and stores often ran short. Port Jackson, a little farther north, was found to be a good harbour, and on its rocky shores Phillip founded the town of Sydney. Fourteen miles west he discovered good land round his second settlement of Parramatta. A few farmer-emigrants made their way inland to the fertile valley of the Hawkesbury. Norfolk Island, out in the Pacific, was colonized, and the settlers sent food to Sydney. Corn was also brought from China and South Africa. The infant colony was not self-supporting till twenty years had passed. Discipline was with difficulty maintained among the convicts, who soon numbered thousands, many of them political offenders or Irish rebels. The rough wooded country north and south of Port Jackson, and the steep Highlands to the west, formed natural barriers which few of the prisoners could cross. But it was found necessary to divide up the convict population, and this gave an impetus to the early explorers of the coast, who looked for places where other convict settlements could be established.

Mutinous Guards.

It was harder still for the Governor to keep a firm hold over the convict guards. Phillip employed marines, but they could not long be spared from service in Europe. Just before he left New South Wales in 1792, a special regiment, raised by Major Grose, and called the New South Wales Corps, was sent out from home to keep order in the colony. The officers of this corps were fortune-seekers, and the men were mostly of bad character, but, as it

was the only military force, the corps soon ruled the colony. Its commander acted as Governor for three years, until Governor Hunter arrived in 1795. Meanwhile Grose had given large grants of land to his officers, farmed out the convicts to work for them, and allowed them to sell food and spirits at high prices. Hunter and his successor, King, vainly tried to control the corps. The fourth Governor, Bligh, against whom the crew of the *Bounty* had mutinied (see pp. 405-6), provoked a mutiny of the corps by his arrest of a former officer, John Macarthur, on a charge of illicit spirit-dealing. In 1808 Bligh was deposed and imprisoned, and the corps commander acted as Governor in his stead for two years. The home Government was now forced to make drastic changes. In 1810 a distinguished military officer, Major-General Lachlan Macquarie, was sent out as Governor, with his own regiment to support him. The New South Wales Corps was recalled to England and disbanded. Macarthur also was sent home, despite his good work in introducing merino sheep, and thus founding the Australian wool industry. The field was clear for Macquarie's reforms.

Macquarie's main idea was to encourage the "emancipists," or time-expired convicts, though he resented the intrusion of free settlers. Tasmania, which Flinders and Bass had in 1798 proved to be an island, and which had been annexed in 1803, was used as a prison for the worst convicts. Those who had served their time were encouraged to start life anew on equal terms with the free colonists; the Governor made a point of treating ex-convicts kindly, if they were respectable, and appointed some of them

Macquarie.

magistrates, much to the annoyance of the official and military class. He also encouraged exploration beyond the narrow bounds of Phillip's colony. Blaxland in 1813 crossed the Blue Mountains to the fertile valleys beyond, and Evans, following him, discovered the Rivers Lachlan and Macquarie. On the banks of the Macquarie, the first inland town of Australia, Bathurst, was founded in 1819. Oxley went farther than Evans, and found the Liverpool Plains, since famous for their good grazing. Governor Macquarie made roads and built schools, and started the colony on its career of prosperity. But the favour which he showed to ex-convicts made him so obnoxious to the other settlers that the home Government was persuaded to inquire into the matter, and ultimately to recall Macquarie in 1821. His successors, Brisbane (1821-1825) and Darling (1825-1831), continued the work of exploration. To the north of Sydney, Oxley found the Brisbane River. To the west, Hume and Hovell made a great journey overland to the southern coast at Port Phillip; while Sturt in two long expeditions explored the great rivers Darling, Murrumbidgee, and Murray, tracing the Murray to the sea at Encounter Bay. Immigrants came from Britain, and settled in the new and fertile interior. They were given land on condition that they employed convict labour. The coming of so many free men changed the whole tone of New South Wales life.

Free Immigration.

In the convict settlement the Governor had had absolute power. But in 1823 he was given a nominated Council to advise him, and law-courts

were set up under a Chief Justice, without whose consent the Governor could make no new laws. But the settlers were now numerous enough to claim a share in the government. W. C. Wentworth published a newspaper, *The Australian*, in which he persistently criticized Governor Darling, and demanded an elected legislature to vote taxes. The new settlers and the ex-convicts supported him, and after much controversy Darling was recalled. His successors, Bourke (1831-1837) and Gipps (1837-1846), were more popular and more competent. Bourke encouraged the immigration of artisans and labourers to carry on the trades hitherto left to the convict class. But he conferred a still greater benefit on Australia by persuading the home Government to send no more convicts, except to Tasmania, after 1840. By raising the price of land in the "nineteen counties" laid out near Sydney, Bourke caused the big sheep-graziers to go far west into the Darling-Murray plains. These "squatters," who moved from place to place with their flocks in search of water, were given licences, though the land could not be sold to them.

An Elected Council.

The colony now seemed to have developed far enough to govern itself. In 1842, therefore, New South Wales received a Constitution. A Council of twelve nominated and twenty-four elected members was established to make laws and control the revenue, except that which came from land. The right of voting was limited to colonists who owned land worth £200, or lived in houses worth £20 a year, so that the Council was chiefly composed of squatters and landowners. Wentworth led the

squatter party, whose grievance was the Governor's refusal to sell them land on nominal terms. Gipps, supported by the home Government, thought that the land in the interior should not be sold too soon. Under the next Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy (1846-1855), the squatters got their own way, and were able to lease their sheep-runs. In return for this privilege they encouraged the Colonial Office to revive the transportation system in a modified form, by sending out "exiles"—convicts pardoned on condition that they went to the colonies—and ticket-of-leave men. Though the squatters thought to profit by this form of cheap labour, the Sydney townsfolk in 1849 protested so vigorously that a cargo of ex-convicts in the ship *Hashemy* were not landed. An Anti-Transportation League was formed —the future statesman Henry Parkes being one of its promoters — and in 1851 the Colonial Office renounced the right of sending out convicts to Eastern Australia.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF THE YOUNGER COLONIES

New South Wales, as originally founded by Phillip, comprised the eastern half of Australia. Great Britain was unwilling at the time to dispute such prior claims to the western half as Holland might have by right of discovery. But after the Napoleonic wars her scruples had vanished. The fear lest France should take the unoccupied regions induced the British Government to annex Melville Island,

off the north coast, in 1824, and to establish a fort at Albany, on King George's Sound, at the south-western corner, in 1826. The whole continent was proclaimed to be British territory in 1829.

Western Australia. Western Australia was the first free colony in Australia. Led by Captain James Stirling, a party of British emigrants settled on the Swan River in 1829, and founded the city of Perth. They received grants of land in proportion to their means, under a scheme put forward by James Peel. But, unluckily, the land was not well distributed. The wealthiest settlers had the first choice, so that all the land round Perth was divided into their large estates ; poor men needing small farms had to select land miles away from their only market. Hence the colony made slow progress. More emigrants came out and settled near the coast between Perth and Albany, but numbers of them soon grew tired of their hardships, and went on to New South Wales. At last, in 1850, the colony, starved for want of men, persuaded the Home Government to send them convicts who would form a labouring class. The remedy proved effective, for Western Australia was henceforth able to develop its farms and pastures, its forests and its coal-mines. But the other colonies disliked the presence of convicts so much that transportation was stopped in 1868.

South Australia. South Australia, the second free colony, founded in 1834, embodied an attempt to carry out ideas suggested by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and sanctioned by Parliament. Land was sold at the fairly high price of twelve shillings an acre to men with capital, and the proceeds were to be used in taking out emigrants who would supply the labour needed

in a new colony; thus the mistake made in West Australia was avoided. A Colonization Commission was created for the region between east longitude 132° and 141°, and from the sea inland to the 26th parallel of south latitude—the southern half of the middle of Australia, including especially the lower valley of the Murray. The first emigrants arrived in 1836, and Adelaide was founded by the first Governor, Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hindmarsh. He quarrelled with the Resident representing the Commission, and with the settlers. His successor, Gawler, spent too much money on public works in order to provide employment for the immigrant labourers, and prevent them from going away to Sydney. South Australia was saved by the wise rule of Captain (afterwards Sir George) Grey (1841-1845). He stopped the relief works, and thus encouraged the labourers to settle on the land, which was now to be had cheap because many of the first settlers were ruined. In four years the area of farm-land was increased tenfold. Cattle-breeders from New South Wales came to live on the Lower Murray, where the grazing was abundant. Rich copper-mines were found north of Adelaide, and the colony, helped by a grant from the home Government, began to thrive. No convicts were needed, and none were sent.

Port Phillip.

While South Australia was in the making, the colony now known as Victoria was begun by private enterprise. Pioneers from Tasmania, disliking the stern rule necessary in a convict settlement, sought a free country across Bass's Straits. The Hentys founded Portland, near the South Australia border, as a whaling-station in 1834. John Batman, repre-

senting a Tasmanian syndicate, bought a large tract of land from the natives at the mouth of the Yarra, in Port Phillip, in 1835. Another Tasmanian, Fawkner, immediately afterwards established a settlement on the Yarra, paying no attention to Batman's claim. The Colonial Office was at first inclined to expel the settlers. But Governor Bourke, of New South Wales, saw that it was best to recognize the new Port Phillip colony. He appointed an Administrator for the district, and Melbourne, named after the Prime Minister of the day, was officially founded on Fawkner's site in 1837. Fawkner and his companions bought much of the land from the Government. Batman and his syndicate took up large areas of pastoral country to the west of Port Phillip, round Geelong. Meanwhile the report of Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, on an overland journey from the Murray to the southern coast, induced many squatters to settle in the northern district of the new colony. Within nine years from the foundation of Melbourne almost all the pastoral region of Victoria was occupied.

Separation of Victoria.

No sooner was the Port Phillip district settled than its inhabitants began to feel the disadvantages of being governed from a centre so distant as Sydney. The Murray was fixed as the boundary, and New South Wales south of the Murray was allowed to elect six of the twenty-four elective members of the Council which legislated for the colony under the Constitution of 1842. But Melbourne colonists were too busy to attend a Sydney legislature. By way of a joke, they chose Earl Grey,

the Colonial Secretary, to be one of their members in 1848, explaining that it was useless to send representatives to Sydney, and that their member might as well live in London. Grey caused a Committee of the Privy Council to consider and report on the question, and in 1850 Parliament passed an Act separating Port Phillip, which was henceforth called Victoria, from New South Wales, and setting up provisional constitutions with power to the colonies to amend them. The Committee's proposal for a Federal Assembly was not, however, adopted; the Governor of New South Wales had the title of Governor-General, but no power over other colonies. Fifty years were yet to pass before the colonies were federated.

Tasmania.

Tasmania had been separated from New South Wales in 1825. It was first annexed in 1803, and used as a convict-station. Adventurous settlers from Sydney founded the coast towns of Launceston and Hobart, but the progress of the colony was impeded by a long war with the natives, who did not give in till 1832. So many convicts were sent to the island that free colonists found the life distasteful. Many of them gladly helped in the founding of Victoria. The convicts were after a time confined to the spacious Tasman's Peninsula, which is only connected by a narrow neck of land with the main island. Governor Arthur's stern rule (1824-1836) restored order and security. But Tasmania did not begin to thrive till the importation of convicts was stopped in 1853, and the colony received a Constitution.

Queensland.

Queensland, the youngest of the six colonies, was the northern portion of the original New South

Wales, and was severed from the parent colony in 1859. The fine pastoral country called the Darling Downs had been opened to settlement thirty years before, and Brisbane had been founded on the Brisbane River in 1824, primarily as a convict-station. But the squatters of the interior continued for a long time to use the overland route to Sydney, so that the Moreton Bay settlement remained unimportant. When more direct routes from the coast up to the plateau were opened, the Moreton Bay district soon began to agitate, as Port Phillip had done, for separation from Sydney. The Colonial Office at first proposed to divide this vast north-eastern region of Australia into two colonies, reserving the more northerly for a convict-settlement. But New South Wales disliked the idea, and would only hear of separation if the whole of its northern district, up to Cape York, were given to the new colony of Queensland. This was accordingly done.

Northern Territory.

The last portion of Australia to be definitely assigned was the middle section of the north, lying between Western Australia and Queensland, and known as the Northern Territory. Melville Island, off its northern coast, had been occupied in 1824, and Port Essington, on the mainland, garrisoned in 1829. Leichhardt in 1843-1845 led an expedition from Brisbane across the unknown interior to Port Darwin, and found much good pasturage inland. In 1860-61 a Victorian expedition, under Burke and Wills, crossed the continent from south to north, coming to grief on the way back; a year later the South Australian, Stuart, made the crossing, and thus gave his colony a claim to control the Northern

Territory. This claim was recognized in 1863, and the district was given to South Australia. At the same time Queensland's western boundary was moved farther west, so as to give her some more of the fertile country on the north through which Leichhardt had passed.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOLD-DISCOVERIES

Gold Found.

FOR sixty years after Port Phillip was occupied, Australia's growth in population and wealth was slow and steady. The discovery of gold in 1851, first in New South Wales and then in Victoria, quickened and changed the course of its development. Gold-seekers poured in by tens of thousands to seek sudden riches in the new fields, and the immigrants were no longer mainly quiet agriculturists from the mother-country, but included numerous townsfolk, revolutionists from Europe, and adventurers from America, who were a novel element less easily controlled than the convicts had been. In ten years the population rose from about 400,000 to nearly three times that number ; mining replaced agriculture and sheep-rearing as the chief industry for the time ; and the eastern colonies found that prosperity had brought with it fresh difficulties.

Hargraves.

Gold was found on the Upper Macquarie River, near Bathurst, by Edward Hargraves, on February 12, 1851. Hargraves was an Australian who had joined in the gold-rush to California in 1848. While there he had been struck by the resemblance

between the Californian gullies where gold was found and the gullies in his own country. Returning home, he soon proved that the coast range of New South Wales was full of mineral wealth. In a few months the valleys were full of miners, for farmers and townsmen alike left their work to profit by Hargraves's discovery. As Melbourne was almost deserted, the new colony of Victoria offered a reward to anyone who found gold within its borders. In August, 1851, a rich field was discovered at Golden Point, Ballarat, in the mountains north-west of Melbourne. Soon afterwards other important fields were opened farther north at Mount Alexander and at Bendigo. Diggers from the other colonies and from all over the world speedily made their way to Victoria, doubled its population within the year, and doubled it again within five years, and turned a homely, pastoral State into a turbulent mining-camp. The Governor found it difficult to keep order, because the police deserted to become miners. The new Council, representing the squatters, had little liking for the mining class, and wanted to tax them unduly. Thus discontent grew, and led to actual riot.

Like New South Wales, Victoria began by taxing every miner thirty shillings a month for the licence to dig. The miners thought this unfair, because a man might be unlucky and find no gold. The home Government advised the Council to replace the licence fee by a tax on exported gold, but the Council refused. The miners then declined to pay more than ten shillings a month. Sir Charles Hotham, who became Governor in 1854, was restoring order, when fresh trouble arose at Ballarat. A man was

The Eureka Stockade.

murdered, and the suspected murderer, a publican, was acquitted by magistrates who were thought to be partial. A riot took place, and the publican's inn was burnt. Hotham sent up troops, arrested the rioters, and had them tried and convicted. The miners set up a Reform League, which demanded universal suffrage, the abolition of licence fees, and the release of the rioters. Revolutionists from Europe, obtaining control of the League, declared for an independent "Republic of Victoria," and fortified the Eureka stockade on a hill commanding the road from Melbourne to Ballarat. A small force of troops easily captured the stockade on Sunday, December 3, 1854, and ended the revolt. But the lesson was not forgotten. Next year the licence fees were abolished, and an export duty on gold substituted. Every miner had to pay a pound a year for the right to dig, and thus secured a vote. Henceforth the miners were as peaceable as the other colonists.

The neighbouring colonies shared in the new prosperity of Victoria. The farmers of South Australia and Tasmania and the graziers of New South Wales found in the mining-camps a large market for their corn, vegetables, sheep, and cattle. Many miners who had been lucky in their finds went to South Australia, where there was plenty of good farming land to be bought cheaply, and settled down, so that the colony made rapid progress. Tasmania had lost many of its ex-convicts, who had gone to the gold-fields, and was thus relieved of the chief obstacle to its orderly development; for the home Government felt compelled to cease from sending any more convicts to the island.

Responsible Government.

The rapid growth of population, especially in the chief ports and the mining centres, strengthened the demand for full self-government. The Constitutions drawn up in virtue of the Act of 1850 by New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia, were readily approved by the Imperial Parliament in 1855, and in 1856 these four colonies obtained responsible government under Ministers answerable for their acts to the colonial legislatures. In each case the legislature consisted of two Houses—a Council, with members nominated for life by the Ministry in New South Wales, but elected in the other colonies; and an Assembly elected on a very liberal franchise, so that every man in South Australia, and almost every man in the other colonies, could be a voter. The franchise has recently been extended, so that every man and every woman can vote.

Politics and the State.

Political parties like those of Great Britain or Canada have not arisen in Australia—except the comparatively modern Labour party—so that the colonial Ministries have seldom had any organized support in the legislatures, and therefore have been as a rule very short-lived. The first New South Wales Ministry lasted for eighty days, and many later Ministries have had no better success. Strong and popular men like the late Sir Henry Parkes, of New South Wales, have enjoyed long terms of office, but Parkes was an exceptional Premier. In general, Australian politics have turned on measures, and not on men or parties, and great progress has been made in spite of the ill-luck of innumerable Ministries. The tendency throughout has been for the State to undertake duties that in Great Britain and

America have been left to private enterprise. The early Governors naturally controlled all the affairs of their prisons and garrisons, and the habit persisted after the colonies had begun to develop. Thus, the Colonial Governments have constructed almost all the railways, as well as the roads, bridges, and harbours, and have carried out or assisted irrigation schemes in the arid interior, whose inhabitants are too few and too scattered to undertake such public works. In each of the five eastern colonies the capital has grown more and more populous, and attracted more and more of the commerce of the colony, while other towns have remained small. Sydney and Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane, contain at least a third of the population of their respective States, and Hobart has a fourth of the Tasmanian people within its boundaries. These large cities have thus had a very great influence on Australian politics.

The Land.

The first question which the self-governing colonies took up and settled was that of the land. The home Government had maintained that public lands belonged to the Empire as a whole, rather than to the individual colonies, and should be used in its interests; and it had employed the proceeds from the sale of these lands to assist emigration. In 1855, however, this claim was abandoned, and the colonies were left to deal with the public lands as they thought fit. The squatters or big graziers had controlled the old Councils, and made it difficult for poor men to acquire farming land. Under the New South Wales Act of 1861, passed by Sir John Robertson, it became lawful for a man to select a small farm on a sheep-run for a moderate price, provided that he

lived on the land and cultivated it. The "selectors," as such men were called, were much disliked by the squatters, but they have benefited Australia by growing wheat and establishing fruit-farms. The South Australian Act, passed by Sir Richard Torrens in 1858, made it an easy matter to buy or sell land by requiring all estates to be registered, and declaring that the registered owner was to be considered the true owner. Disputes about the possession of land were thus reduced in number.

Immigration.

The proceeds from the sale of Government lands were partly applied for many years to promote immigration, except in Victoria. But after a time the older colonies felt that it was no longer necessary to pay the passage-money for suitable immigrants, who would come of their own accord. The population, which had trebled between 1851 and 1861 owing to the gold-discoveries, was trebled again in the next forty years, and stood at 3,773,801 in 1901. Coloured immigrants were not encouraged. Some Chinese found their way as miners to the gold-fields, and later, as market-gardeners and cabinet-makers, to the chief cities, while South Sea Islanders were employed in the Queensland sugar-plantations. But the strong public feeling against them gradually led to severe measures for excluding non-white immigrants.

Schools and the Tariff.

Two other questions that excited much controversy were public education and the tariff. After a long struggle the colonies decided for a system of unsectarian public elementary schools, and schools in which a distinctive form of religion was taught received no support from the State. As to the tariff, the towns with their infant manufacturing

industries insisted on Protection, while the squatters and farmers were generally opposed to it. Victoria adopted a Protective tariff very soon, but New South Wales long preferred a modified form of Free Trade. One reason for adopting Protection was that the colonies needed revenue to pay interest on the money borrowed for building railways and other large public works, and it seemed easier to collect the money in duties on imported goods than by direct taxes on the inhabitants.

Council and Assembly.

The elected Assemblies, and the Councils, whether nominated or elective, soon came into violent collision, because the Councils were slow to accept changes in the Constitutions. Thus, in 1877 the Victorian Council refused to pass the Budget for the year because it included a sum for paying salaries to the members of the legislature. The Ministry, headed by Sir Graham Berry, dismissed all the highly paid officials on a day remembered since as "Black Monday," hoping to frighten the Council into submission. The dispute ended at last by the Council's accepting the Ministry's proposals. In South Australia and Queensland similar crises have occurred, and the respective powers of Council and Assembly are still matters of debate.

Meanwhile the economic development of the country steadily continued. Northern Queensland was explored, and the interior plains occupied by squatters, while sugar and other tropical products were cultivated in the coast districts. South Australia, which had annexed the Northern Territory in 1863, undertook and completed in 1870-1872 the great task of running an overland telegraph-line

right across the continent, through hot, waterless deserts, from Adelaide to Port Darwin, whence the submarine cable goes to Java and on to Europe.

Western Australia. Western Australia, which had long lagged behind the eastern colonies, mainly because it was supposed to contain no profitable gold-mines and had been but little explored, came to the front in 1886, when the Kimberley gold-field was discovered in the north of the colony. A much richer field in the east was first opened by Riseley, in 1887, at Southern Cross. Five years later the famous mines of Coolgardie were discovered by Bayley and Ford, and soon afterwards the Kalgoorlie mines and others to the north and south of them were developed. A railway was made to Coolgardie by 1896, and by 1903 the field was supplied with water from the coast range several hundred miles away. As in the eastern colonies, so in Western Australia—the rush of new settlers led to the grant of responsible government. This was given in 1890, and since then the colony has developed considerable prosperity both in mining and in agriculture and the pastoral industry. In 1891 Western Australia had barely 50,000 inhabitants. By 1908 she had almost six times as many.

CHAPTER V

FEDERATION

Projects of Federation. If Australia could have remained free from the risk of foreign interference, the six colonies might long have remained separate. But as time passed, it

became clear that they must unite in self-defence. The home Government had always favoured some kind of federation from 1849-50 onwards. But each colony preferred to manage its affairs in its own way, and there was much local jealousy between them, leading in the case of Victoria and New South Wales to a war of tariffs, which occasioned much inconvenience on the Murray frontier. European annexations in the Pacific, such as the French occupation of New Caledonia in 1853, and still later the German acquisition of North-Eastern New Guinea in 1884, after an attempt of Queensland to annex all the eastern part of the island, gave much concern to thoughtful Australians, who wanted no powerful neighbours. There was also the question of Chinese immigration, and an intercolonial Conference was held in 1881 to devise measures which all the colonies might take to keep out these undesirable immigrants. In 1885 a Federal Council of Australasia was formed, to which Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania, sent delegates for some years.

The Commonwealth.

Then arose the question of naval defence for Australia. The colonies agreed in 1887 to share the cost of hiring a British squadron to guard the coasts. Similar action was proposed for military defence. The idea of co-operation had now become so familiar that, in 1889, Sir Henry Parkes, who had held aloof from the Federal Council because it was powerless, boldly proposed the creation of "a great national Government for all Australia." A Convention of delegates from the six colonies and from New Zealand was held, and drew up a Federal Con-

stitution in 1891. But it was shelved by the different legislatures, especially by that of New South Wales, and Parkes died before the scheme could be revived. Six years later a new Convention met. It was composed of members directly chosen by the electors of the six colonies, and in 1897-98 it drew up a more democratic Constitution. Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, accepted the Bill by large majorities; New South Wales showed only a small and insufficient majority for it; Queensland and Western Australia looked on. The Premiers in conference amended the Constitution Bill, and it was again submitted to popular vote in 1899. All the five eastern colonies now approved of it, and Western Australia adopted it in 1900. The Imperial Parliament passed the Bill in the same year, and on New Year's Day, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence.

The Constitution.

The Federal Parliament consists of two Houses—a Senate, to which each State voting as one district sends six members; and a House of Representatives, containing seventy-five members elected by as many constituencies of equal population, into which Australia is divided for the purpose. Western Australia and Tasmania were given five representatives, though they were not entitled in 1900 to more than three. The Senators sit for six years, half the members retiring every third year. The House may not sit for more than three years. If the Senate and House disagree, both are dissolved, and new elections held. If they still disagree, they must sit together and decide the dispute by a majority. Every adult man or woman

has a vote for both Senate and House of Representatives.

The powers of the Commonwealth, unlike those of the Dominion, are strictly limited by the Constitution. The Commonwealth deals with all external questions, such as commerce, tariffs, immigration, and foreign relations, and with all questions that concern more than one State, such as the postal and telegraph service, naval and military defence, or commercial and marriage laws. In all other questions not reserved to the Commonwealth, the six States, as the colonies are now called, retain their old powers. Disputes between the Commonwealth and a State are decided by a Federal High Court. The capital was, by the Constitution, to be in New South Wales, but over 100 miles from Sydney. Yass-Canberra, in the Highlands, south-west of Sydney, has been chosen. Meanwhile, the Federal Parliament meets at Melbourne.

State Rights.

The States thus continue to manage railways and schools and the public lands. But they are dependent on the Commonwealth for revenue, because it has taken over the Customs duties, which formed the chief part of their income. For the first ten years it was agreed that the Commonwealth should raise four times as much Customs revenue as it needed, and hand over three-fourths of the amount to the States. This arrangement has now been altered by a new Act, under which the Commonwealth is for the next ten years to pay the States twenty-five shillings per head of their population.

Benefits of Federation.

The chief advantages of federation are that it gives to a single Government the duty of expressing

the general wishes and defending the common interests of all Australians, and that it has removed the internal barriers to trade and enterprise, which within Australia are now free. The Commonwealth is able to consider and deal with great schemes for the good of the whole continent, such as the proposed transcontinental railways connecting Western Australia with the eastern States, and South Australia with the Northern Territory. It has undertaken to build and maintain an Australian Navy, to act in co-operation with the Imperial Navy. Its first vessel, the destroyer *Parramatta*, was launched at Glasgow on February 9, 1910, by Mrs. Asquith, wife of the British Premier. It proposes to take over the tropical Northern Territory, and administer it by Federal officials, as no one State could afford to do. It has accepted the charge of Papua, as South-Eastern New Guinea is now called. Since 1906 this forest-clad land, about as large as Great Britain, has been a territory of the Commonwealth, with a Lieutenant-Governor at Port Moresby to represent Federal authority. The Commonwealth has also adopted a single Customs tariff for Australia, in place of the six different tariffs formerly existing. It has thus been able to give a preference to British imports over those from foreign countries, which pay higher duties.

A White Australia.

The Commonwealth has strengthened the policy of a White Australia, which has long been the Australian ideal. Coloured immigrants, from Asia or Africa, are not wanted, because Australians desire to maintain the white man's standard of living, and believe that Europeans can do all the work that is

needed in any part of the continent. The first measure of the Federal Parliament was to forbid the employment of Kanakas from the Pacific islands on the Queensland sugar-plantations, and to order their return home by 1905-06. It was thought by some that the sugar industry would be ruined, as white men could not do hard manual work in a tropical climate. But bounties are given for the production of sugar by white labour, and the industry is increasing in size and in value. Australia used only to produce half the sugar that it needed ; now it produces more than enough, and exports the surplus, although in many other sugar-producing British colonies the industry, worked by coloured labour, has decreased. Furthermore, the white sugar-workers enjoy good health. These facts are thought to show that the White Australia principle is quite practicable even in the tropical north of the continent. The Commonwealth, representing over 4,000,000 white people, is able to offer a stronger resistance to Chinese and Japanese immigration than any separate colony could have done ; and non-European immigrants are now excluded by an educational test.

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES

Wool.

AUSTRALIA owes its prosperity first of all to sheep. The woollen trade was founded by John Macarthur's importation of Spanish merino sheep from Cape Colony in 1797. In search of pasture, the early

pioneers mounted from the coast to the plateau, and ranged far and wide over the inland plains, soon to be followed by squatters, whose flocks grew and multiplied in the excellent climate, despite occasional years of drought. As the country is gradually explored, new pasture-lands are being found, even in the northern district of Western Australia, which was thought until lately to be all barren desert. In the eastern plains, in Western Queensland, and round Lake Eyre, considerable areas have been irrigated by flowing wells. In other parts of the interior, where the rainfall is slight, the flocks are grazed in the rainy season, and removed elsewhere during the drought. Thus the pastoral industry has been extended throughout the continent. In 1891 Australia had 106,000,000 sheep. Then came a series of bad years, which reduced the number by half. But the flocks have again increased so rapidly that there were in 1910 about 110,000,000 sheep. Australian wool is celebrated for its length and fineness, and now forms two-thirds of the whole supply of the London wool market. In 1907 the wool export was valued at nearly £29,000,000.

Meat and Butter.

The invention of refrigerating apparatus in the last thirty years has enabled Australia to export vast quantities of frozen mutton and frozen beef to Europe, besides hides and skins; for cattle as well as sheep are reared on the plains, especially in the north. Horse-breeding has long formed an important industry, especially in New South Wales, which exports many horses, especially to India, where they are known as "Walers," from their place of origin. All along the east coast the dairy trade

has developed rapidly, by means of co-operative butter factories, to which the neighbouring farmers send their milk. The export of butter to Great Britain increased from 4,000,000 pounds in 1891 to 75,000,000 pounds in 1906. The value of the total exports of Australia's pastoral industries was in 1907 about £35,000,000 — a vast sum for a population of 4,000,000.

Gold.

Australia's second product, in order of value, is gold, which attracted vast numbers of immigrants, and stimulated both agriculture and manufactures. It has been found since 1851 in all the States, and the total output up to the present is worth £500,000,000—twice as much as the newer mines of South Africa have yet yielded, and ten times as much as Canada has produced. The Victoria gold-fields were long the most important, but of recent years they have been far surpassed by the fields of Western Australia, which now produce gold to the value of about £7,500,000 yearly, or more than half the whole Australian output. Queensland has valuable gold-fields, on which many individual miners make a livelihood. Australia now stands third among the gold-producing countries of the world, after South Africa and the United States, and yielded one-sixth of the world's output of gold in 1908, or half as much as the Transvaal.

Other Metals.

Besides gold, Australia has rich deposits of other metals, especially silver, Broken Hill, in Western New South Wales, being the chief mine ; copper, produced largely in South Australia, at the former gold-field of Mount Morgan in Queensland, and elsewhere ; lead and zinc, in New South Wales ; tin in

Tasmania, New South Wales, and Queensland; iron, especially in the New South Wales Highlands round Lithgow, which is the chief centre of the iron industry, and in Tasmania. Precious stones are abundant, too. The opals and sapphires of Queensland are famous.

Coal.

Australia is also rich in coal. The chief mining district is on the New South Wales coast from Newcastle southwards to Sydney, and beyond for a hundred miles and more to Illawarra and Bateman Bay, as well as in the Highlands. There are coal-workings under Port Jackson itself. Newcastle is the chief coal town. Queensland possesses great coal-fields which have not yet been much worked. Victoria has large deposits of brown coal, and is developing her seams of true coal in the eastern district. Tasmania and Western Australia also have coal-mines, so that the Commonwealth is now almost independent of supplies from outside.

Wheat.

The third most valuable product of Australia is wheat. South Australia, which has always depended mainly on agriculture, was the first State to cultivate wheat on a large scale, and Victoria followed. For many years these two States produced four-fifths of the Australian crop. In recent times wheat-growing has been largely practised in New South Wales also. The crops vary widely with the rainfall, so that Australia, after supplying her own wants, has not much to spare for export in years of drought. Nevertheless, Australia in 1908 had nearly 6,000,000 acres under wheat—not much less than Canada, and about four times as

much as Great Britain—and raised about 8,000,000 quarters, compared to 12,500,000 in Canada and 6,750,000 in Great Britain. She was able to send to the mother-country 1,500,000 quarters—less than half the amount received from Canada, but still a considerable quantity in itself. Three years before Australia sent twice as much. The figures show that Australia is already a great wheat-growing country.

Sugar, Fruit, and Timber.

In the northern districts, especially in Eastern Queensland, where the climate is tropical or sub-tropical and the rainfall abundant, sugar is the staple crop. In 1907 nearly 2,000,000 acres were devoted to sugar-plantations, yielding about 200,000 tons of sugar. Along the eastern and south-eastern coast, in the river valleys and in Tasmania, much fruit is grown. Vineyards have been established in several States, especially in South Australia, and produce large quantities of wine for home use and for export. Australia also has many valuable forest-trees, especially the jarrah and karri, the wood of which is very hard, and is much used for street-paving and for piles in breakwaters and similar purposes. Western Australia has long had a considerable export trade in this kind of timber.

Manufactures.

The manufacturing industries of Australia, which have grown up under the shelter of a protective tariff, chiefly in Victoria, are still young, and do not yet produce enough to meet the home demand. But they give employment to one-sixth of the population, and are steadily increasing in importance. Melbourne is the chief industrial centre,

but Sydney also has many factories; and places like Lithgow, the iron-smelting town, are growing in activity. Great care has been taken by the States both to encourage manufactures and to maintain a high standard of wages and conditions of labour, in accordance with the general principle of Australian politics.

III

THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Position and Area.

THE Dominion of New Zealand lies in the South Pacific, to the south-east of Australia. New Zealand proper consists of two large islands—North Island and South Island—with the small Stewart Island to the south of them. But the Dominion includes also numerous groups of little islands in the neighbouring seas. Auckland and Campbell Islands lie to the south, Chatham, Bounty, and Antipodes Islands to the east. To the north, 600 miles away, is the Kermadec group ; to the north-east, 2,000 miles off, are the Cook Islands, Savage, Penrhyn, Manahiki, and other islands, all since 1901 within the jurisdiction of New Zealand. The main group has an area of 103,658 square miles ; North Island, with 44,468 square miles, is a little smaller than England ; South Island, with 58,525 square miles, is almost equal in area to England and Wales ; and Stewart Island, with 665 square miles, is about equal in size to the county of Surrey. The population was in 1908 about 1,008,000, including over 47,000 Maoris ; there were besides about 12,000 natives in the outlying islets. North Island is severed from South

Island by Cook Strait, and South Island from Stewart Island by Foveaux Strait. Hence any part of the coast is reached by sea with comparative ease. Sydney is about 1,200 miles away from Wellington, the capital, on Cook Strait ; and San Francisco is about 6,000 miles away.

North and South Islands are long and narrow, with numerous bays and deep fjords. They are extremely mountainous. The whole middle portion of North Island is a high volcanic region, with the active volcanoes of Ruapehu (9,008 feet) and Tongariro (7,515 feet) south of the central Lake Taupo, and the extinct volcano Mount Egmont (8,260 feet) in the south-west corner. To the north of Taupo is the picturesque district of Rotorua, celebrated for its lakes, geysers, and hot springs, and in former days for the pink and white terraces of siliceous sinter beside Lake Rotomahana, which were destroyed by a violent eruption in 1886. This district is preserved as a national park. Northward of the volcanic region are plains, watered by the Waikato River. Beyond these plains the island is almost cut in two by Manukau Harbour on the west, and Hauraki Gulf on the east, with Auckland on the neck of land between them. To the north of Auckland is a long and very narrow peninsula ending in Cape Maria van Diemen, with many bays, such as Kaipara, Hokianga, and the Bay of Islands, along its coasts. Southward of the volcanic region are the low-lying plains fringing Cook Strait, watered by the Wanganui River. The east coast is bordered with lofty ranges, separated from the sea by grassy uplands round Hawke Bay and Poverty Bay. At

North Island.

the extreme south end of these ranges, which give the south coast the shape of a crescent, is the capital Wellington, on Port Nicholson.

South Island.

The South Island is more uniformly mountainous than the North Island, and rises to loftier peaks. On the north coast there are plains round the deep indentations of Tasman Bay and Queen Charlotte Sound, on which stand the towns of Nelson and Picton. This district is isolated by high ranges crossing the island, with many peaks, of which Mounts Hochstetter (11,200 feet) and Franklin (10,000 feet) are the chief. The Rivers Buller and Grey, flowing west, and Wairau, flowing east, are the largest of many streams in this region; they are navigable only for a short distance. Farther south begin the Southern Alps — a magnificent mountain range which skirts the whole west coast, and sends out lower spurs towards the south-east coast. The highest point of the Alps is Mount Cook (12,350 feet). Many large glaciers exist in this range, from which flow numerous rivers, especially to the east. The Waitaki flowing eastward, the Clutha rising in Lake Wanaka and flowing south-eastwards, and the Waiau flowing southward from Lake Te Anau, are the most important. The Alps approach the western coast so closely as to afford little room for settlement, though the scenery of the fjords, resembling those of Norway, is superb. The mining region between Westport and Hokitika is, however, well populated. It is cut off from the east by the Alps, though the Otira Gorge forms a difficult route for mail-coaches. Eastward of the Alps there is abundant scope for farmers in the

fertile and well-watered plains and uplands, which are divided naturally by the spurs of the Alps into the provinces of Canterbury and Otago.

Climate and Soil.

New Zealand in the southern hemisphere lies in the latitudes corresponding to those of Italy and Japan in the northern hemisphere. But, owing to its position in the midst of a great ocean, it enjoys a more equable climate than either Italy or Japan, resembling that of Northern Spain and Western France. In North Island the rainfall is uniform, because the storms come from the west, and meet no obstacle until they reach the high ranges on the east coast. In South Island, on the other hand, the Southern Alps obstruct the winds, sending them upward into colder regions, where their moisture turns to rain, which falls heavily on the western slopes and clothes them with dense forests. The eastern plains thus escape an excessive rainfall, and, though they are visited in the summer by hot and dry winds from the Alps, which often damage the crops, enjoy on the whole one of the best climates in the world. On these treeless plains wheat grows well, and on the uplands cattle flourish. North Island, thanks to its hotter climate and heavier rainfall, abounds in subtropical forests, containing the great kauri pine, which yields a valuable resin, and the tree-fern ; a kind of hemp grows freely, and forms an important export.

Minerals.

New Zealand is rich in minerals of many kinds. Gold is mined from quartz on the west coast of South Island, between Hokitika and Westport, and on the north-east coast of North Island, in the mountainous Coromandel Peninsula, to the south of

which is the great Waihi Mine. Gold is also washed from the sands of the Clutha and other rivers in the south of South Island. Coal is found everywhere. The best coal is mined in large quantities round Westport on the west coast; an inferior coal is worked at Dunedin on the south-east coast of South Island, as well as at Newcastle, south of Auckland. Silver, lead, and iron, occur also. A curious and valuable product is kauri gum, a fossil resin dug from the site of fossil forests in the north of North Island.

CHAPTER II

MAORIS AND EARLY SETTLERS

The Maoris.

LONG before New Zealand was discovered by Europeans it had been colonized by the Maoris, a strong and clever Polynesian race who came from a place which they called Hawaiki, possibly to be identified with Rarotonga, one of the Cook Islands. They probably settled in New Zealand in the middle ages, and killed off the earlier inhabitants. Most of the Maori tribes established themselves in North Island; a few settled on the west coast of South Island, for the sake of the greenstone which they used for tools and weapons; and some lived as far south as Otago. They were not cultivators, but subsisted on the bounty of Nature, eating fern-root, rats, shellfish, and birds. They had no metals, but were skilful in making stone weapons, in carving stone and wood, and in weaving the native hemp

into mats for their dress. They made large sea-going canoes, hollowed out of tree-trunks and decorated with carving. Each tribe had a meeting-house, elaborately adorned with carved panels. They worshipped many gods, and had respect for their priests, called "tohungas." But the main religious principle was that of the "taboo." To violate "taboo"—as, for instance, to touch a chief's property—was to be guilty of deadly sin. The men were tattooed on the face with intricate patterns, the women only on the lips. Slavery was common, and cannibalism was practised as a religious rite. There was no personal ownership of land, which belonged to the tribe, but houses, clothes, and weapons were personal property.

A Fighting Race.

The Maoris lived for war, and spent their time in prosecuting endless tribal or private feuds. They built fortified stockades, or "pas," on the hill-tops, for defence or as a base for a foray against the enemy. They were, and are, a well-built, athletic people, with long black hair that distinguishes them from the negro, and they were excellent fighters, as the British soon discovered. They were divided into about thirty tribes, with many subdivisions, and quarrels about land were naturally frequent. But the Maoris were so eager for fighting that the slightest personal insult was enough to provoke a war, which, when once started, would be prolonged by the custom of family vengeance, similar to the Corsican vendetta.

Tasman and Cook.

The first European known to have visited New Zealand was Abel Tasman, the Dutch navigator, in 1642. He reached the west coast from Tasmania, and sailed up it to the northern extremity, without,

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however, discovering Cook Strait. He called the country Staaten Land, thinking it part of the fabled South Pacific continent; but earlier Dutch map-makers had given the name of New Zealand to a coastline in the same latitude, and this name was generally adopted at a later time. Captain Cook was the first to sail round New Zealand and prove that it consisted of two large islands. In 1770 he landed on the shore of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and hoisted the British flag. He found the Maoris unfriendly, but he left behind him pigs and potatoes, which were new and useful to the natives. The French explorer De Surville visited New Zealand at about the same time as Cook. Du Fresne, two years later, was killed and eaten, with sixteen of his men, for unconsciously violating a "taboo."

Whalers and Missions.

In the early years of the nineteenth century adventurous whalers and sealers found their way to New Zealand, and established stations on the south coast. Other Europeans settled among the Maoris, especially on the Bay of Islands in the extreme north, and traders from New South Wales brought muskets and gunpowder, spirits and cotton-goods, to barter for timber, hemp, and potatoes. After the traders came the missionaries, led by Samuel Marsden, the New South Wales chaplain, from Sydney in 1814. With tact and patience the missionaries did much to improve the condition of the Maoris, who were gradually induced to abandon cannibalism and head-hunting, to till the ground, to attend school, and in many cases to profess Christianity. But the influence of the traders was indirectly mischievous, for the coast tribes, armed with muskets, found that

they could easily overcome the other tribes who had only their old stone axes and spears. Hence ambitious chiefs, like Hongi, of the Bay of Islands, and Te Rauparaha, who ruled on both sides of Cook Strait, waged ferocious wars in which half the Maori population was destroyed.

British Intervention.

The Governor of New South Wales in 1825 tried to check the traders, who encouraged these native wars, by appointing magistrates at Kokorareka, on the Bay of Islands, who were to have power over British subjects. When in 1831 a Frenchman, Baron de Thierry, proclaimed himself "King of Hokianga," on the north-west coast, the missionaries, fearing a French annexation of the country, persuaded some chiefs to ask for a British protectorate. Accordingly, in 1833 James Busby was sent as British Resident to the Bay of Islands, to restore order, if he could, by his personal influence. Two years later Busby induced the northern Maoris to join together as "The United Tribes of New Zealand," with a Parliament and a flag, under British protection, but the home Government was still unwilling to annex the islands.

The New Zealand Company.

Meanwhile Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had organized the emigration to South Australia, was busy with a similar plan for colonizing New Zealand. The Government and the missionaries opposed his scheme, foreseeing that it would lead to quarrels with the Maoris. But the New Zealand Land Company, formed in 1838, sent out Wakefield's brother, Colonel Wakefield, who in 1839 bargained with chiefs on the shores of Cook Strait for several millions of acres of land, giving them in exchange goods to the value

of £9,000 and a reserved tenth of the land, which it was believed would greatly increase in value. The chiefs had no right, under Maori law, to part with these lands. But the company sold the lands again in England to intending settlers, who arrived in 1840 to found the town of Wellington on Port Nicholson, only to discover that the farms which they had bought were actually in the possession of natives.

The French Company.

A similar land and emigration company had been founded in France, under the title of the "Compagnie Nanto-Bordelaise." A French whaling captain bought land at Akaroa, in South Island, in 1838, and sold it to this company, which was recognized by the French Government as the "French Company of New Zealand." French emigrants went out to Akaroa, and French Roman Catholic missionaries went with them. There seemed a real danger lest France should acquire the country that Great Britain had so long declined to annex.

British Annexation.

The mistakes of the New Zealand Company, the fear of France, and the difficulty caused by Australian adventurers, who claimed to have bought large tracts of land on their own account, forced the home Government to act. In 1839 Captain Hobson was sent out to annex New Zealand, and to be Lieutenant-Governor of the new colony, under the control of Governor Gipps of New South Wales. He landed at Kokorareka in January, 1840, and on February 6 made with forty-six leading Maori chiefs the Treaty of Waitangi. Under this treaty, the Maori Magna Carta, (1) the Maoris recognized British sovereignty in New Zealand; (2) Great Britain guaranteed to the tribes full possession of their lands, which they

Ko Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani Ltana matara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani, e tana hiahia kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga me to ratou wenua a kia mau tona hoki ki te Rongo ki a ratou me te ata noho hoki. Kua wakaaro ia ki mua tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga tangata maori o Nu Tirani. Kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahi katoa o te wenua nei me nga motu. Na te mea hoki ko te tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona iwi kua noho ki tenei wenua a e kore rawa nei.

Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawana tanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata maori ki te pakeha e noho tahi ana. Na kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona ki te Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua atu nei amua atu ki te Kuini. e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira oti Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei kia kaorerotia nei ko te tuatahi. Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki kihai i uru ki tana Wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te tuarua. Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga Hapu ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino Rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou koki hai hoko e maetia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona

Ko te tuatoru Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wehitanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini Ka hakona e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maoru katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ke ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani

Na. ko matou, ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi. Ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka tuhi nei i te aroaro o enei kupu. ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou. Koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepuere i te tau kotahi mano e waru rau e wa tekau o to tatou Ariki.

Names of chiefs in Port Nicholson and the Neighbourhood

Signed April 29, 1840 in the presence of Henry Williams Clerk.

Te Tohu o Tuarau
Te Tohu o Te Hiko o te Rangi
Te Tohu o Tungia
Te Tohu o Kake
Te Tohu o Te Ware Pouri
Te Tohu o Malanga
Te Tohu o Te Tarenga Kuri
Te Tohu o Te Wakakeko
Te Tohu o Poruto
Te Tohu o Ngatata
Te Tohu o Te Puakawe
Te Tohu o Napuna
Te Tohu o Waiaraapa
Te Tohu o Motuiroa
Te Tohu o Te Tuto
Te Tohu o Ingo
Te Tohu o Taka
Te Tohu o Te Wakataurenga
Te Tohu o Hore
Te Tohu o Pani
Te Tohu o Rawa
Te Tohu o Kopiri
Te Tohu o Wanga
Te Tohu o Ngapapa

Reihana Rewiti

Te Tohu o Patuhiki
Te Tohu o Te Ruka
Te Tohu o Te Kaku
Te Tohu o Kopeka
Te Tohu o Reiewa
Te Tohu o Te Puni
Te Tohu o Tukoto
Te Tohu o Pakewa
Te Tohu o Popuka

Chiefs of Queen Charlotte's Sound

Te Tohu o Toheroa
Te Tohu o Rewa
To Tohu o Watiwi
Te Tohu o Te Tupe
Te Tohu o Tiako
Te Tohu o Tetauhau

Signed May 5, 1840 in the presence of Henry Williams Clerk.

Names of Chiefs of Queen Charlotte's Sound

Te Tohu o Kuriwenua
Te Tohu o Taukina
Te Tohu o Twikau
Te Tohu o Punga
Te Tohu o Te Rangowaka
Te Tohu o Nga Kirikiri
Te Tohu o Potiki
Te Tohu o Nga Tarakeke
Te Tohu o Anara
Te Tohu o Pikau
Te Tohu o Te Uabiki
Te Tohu o Maru
Te Tohu o Karaka

Signed May 11, 1840 in the presence of Henry Williams Clerk.

Names of Chiefs at Ranyatoto

Te Tohu o Te Uetu
Te Tohu o Peru
Te Tohu o Tarapiko
Te Tohu o Te Patote
Te Tohu o Te Rangiatua
Te Tohu o Tahanua
Te Tohu o Orokaka
Te Tohu o Tortoi
Te Tohu o Te Muko
Te Tohu o Te Pukohu
Te Tohu o Te Ihu
Te Tohu o Uuia
Te Tohu o Nukumai

Chiefs of Kapiti Otake Maoriwatiwa

Te Tohu o Te Rauparaha

Kaitu

Te Wiwi

Te Tohu o Topeora
Te Tohu o Te Ruru
Te Tohu o Matita
Te Tohu o Raharoa
Te Tohu o Te Ruke
Te Tohu o Toremi
Te Tohu o Te Ahoaho

Ratanui

Te Tohu o Kekeu
Te Tohu o Te [illegible]

Signed at Waitangi May 14 May 19.

Names of Chiefs at Waikanae and Neighbourhood

Te Tohu o Rauetanuiwangawanga
Te Tohu o Witi
Te Tohu o Te Patukekeua
Te Tohu o Ngaruruhau
Te Tohu o Te Heke
Te Tohu o Tuamaue
Te Tohu o Ngapuke
Te Tohu o Te Patukakariki
Te Tohu o Ngakaue
Te Tohu o Pukeangiora
Te Tohu o Kukutai
Te Tohu o Koinaki
Te Tohu o Karanga

Hohepa Matahau

Te Tohu o Kiha
Te Tohu o Hoangarere
Te Tohu o Hunuua
Te Tohu o Te Weki
Te Tohu o Pehi
Te Tohu o Retetakere

Signed at Waitangi May 13, 1840 in the presence of Henry Williams Clerk. Wm. Hobson Lieut. Governor

Chiefs of Wanganui

Te Tohu o Te Anawa
Te Tohu o Tawito
Te Tohu o Te Mawae
Te Tohu o Rere

Te Tawri

Te Tohu o Rore
Te Tohu o Turoa
Te Tohu o Taka
Te Tohu o Kumawatiai
Te Tohu o Te Rangiwakaurua
Te Tohu o Uraipo
Te Tohu o Te Hiko
Te Tohu o Takaterangi
Te Tohu o Pakoro

Signed at Waitangi May 14 1840 in the presence of Henry Williams Clerk. Wm. Hobson Lieut. Governor

Chiefs of Motu Ngarara

Te Tohu o Te Rangihuroa
Te Tohu o Te Oku

could only sell, if they so desired, to British officials; and (3) the Maoris were to have all the rights of British subjects. The treaty was taken round the islands, and afterwards accepted by 512 chiefs in all. In May, New Zealand was proclaimed a British possession. Two months afterwards two French warships arrived to annex the country to France. But they came too late. Hobson had occupied Akaroa, and most of the French settlers went home again. On May 3, 1841, New Zealand was divided from New South Wales, and made a separate colony, under Hobson as Governor, with Auckland as the capital.

CHAPTER III

THE MAORI WARS

NEW ZEALAND was a Crown colony from 1841 to 1852, ruled by the Governor and a Council of six nominees, including the three chief officials. It had also an Anglican Bishop, Dr. Selwyn, appointed by the Crown. The chief work of the Government was to encourage settlers without offending the Maoris, but this proved almost impossible, in view of the claims of the New Zealand Company. Most of the company's land purchases were cancelled as being contrary to Maori custom and to the Treaty of Waitangi. But the company tried to purchase more land without the Governor's consent, and to occupy the land which it claimed, regardless of Maori protests. More settlers arrived, and founded Taranaki, or New Plymouth (so called because its

The Land Question.

founders were Devon men), in 1841, and Nelson in 1842.

The Wairau Fight.

The Nelson settlement in South Island led to the first fight with the Maoris. The company claimed as part of the settlement some land in the Wairau Valley, about fifty miles to the south-east, and sent a party to survey it, despite the objections of Te Rauparaha; he asserted that the land had not been sold, but was willing to await the decision of the Government. The Maoris, however, burnt the surveyors' hut and removed their goods. Thereupon the magistrate at Nelson issued a warrant for the arrest of the chief on a charge of arson, and went, in June, 1843, with Captain Arthur Wakefield and fifty armed men to seize Te Rauparaha. One of the escort fired—perhaps accidentally—and killed the chief's daughter. Fighting then began, the Maoris charged, and the British party had to retreat, with the loss of half its number. Wakefield and eight others were killed while attempting to surrender, by way of reprisal for the shooting of the woman. The new Governor, Fitzroy, who arrived six months later, inquired into the case, and, concluding that the company was in the wrong, refused to punish the Maoris.

War in the North.

Soon the natives in the north of North Island grew restless, and in 1845 burnt the settlement on the Bay of Islands. They were influenced by rumours that the Treaty of Waitangi would be repudiated at the instance of the New Zealand Company, and feared that they would lose all their lands. Fitzroy was helpless for want of money, as he could not raise an adequate revenue from the scanty white

population, and his military forces were badly led and puzzled by the strange conditions of Maori warfare. The arrival of Captain George Grey, to replace him as Governor, in November, 1845, changed the situation. Grey regained the confidence of most of the Maoris by announcing that the Treaty of Waitangi held good, and acted vigorously against the rebels. Two months after landing he captured their strongest "pa," or stockade, at Ruapekapeka, on the Bay of Islands. Later in the year he crushed a rising in the south of North Island, and captured the formidable chief Te Rauparaha. Having restored peace, Governor Grey persuaded the Colonial Secretary in London, Earl Grey, to withdraw instructions ordering the seizure of all lands not actually occupied and cultivated by the Maoris. He thus saved New Zealand from a general native revolt.

South Island colonized.

The New Zealand Company now turned its attention to the south of South Island, where there were very few natives, and bought all the Crown lands. These it sold again to two new colonizing societies, one organized by adherents of the Free Church of Scotland, the other by members of the Church of England. The Scottish society acquired a large district in the south-east, called Otago, and sent out two shiploads of emigrants, who founded, in 1848, the city of Dunedin and several settlements in the valley of the Clutha (the old name of the Scottish Clyde). To the north of them, the Canterbury Association, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other leading Churchmen, purchased a vast tract, and sent out four ships laden with settlers in 1850. They founded the city of Christchurch and the port

of Lyttelton in the province of Canterbury; the names recall the promoters of this scheme. In each of these new provinces the settlers were comparatively well-to-do; they had to pay £2 or £3 an acre for their land—a very high price in a new colony—and most of the capital thus raised went to pay for making roads, establishing schools and churches, and assisting labourers to emigrate from home. Otago and Canterbury were soon found to contain good pasture for sheep, especially in the uplands, and therefore attracted many Australian sheep-farmers. The discovery of rich gold-deposits in the south of Otago in 1861, and on the west coast near Hokitika in 1864, caused a rush of prospectors, and quickly trebled the population. Apart from this, the southern provinces have little history; their progress as a farming and pastoral community has been steady and continuous, with no native troubles to check it.

A Constitution.

The new settlements soon began to demand representative government. This was granted by the British Parliament in 1852. The colony was divided into six provinces—Auckland, New Plymouth, and Wellington, in North Island; Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, in South Island. Each province had a Superintendent and an elected Council; all were represented in the New Zealand Parliament, consisting of a Legislative Council nominated by the Governor for life, and of an elected House of Representatives. It was uncertain whether the Ministry was to be responsible to the House, or, as before, to the Governor, and this soon led to constitutional disputes. Again, the provincial Councils

were inclined to be jealous of one another and of the central Parliament. As the provinces were subdivided between 1858 and 1868, and the new provinces of Hawke's Bay in North Island, and Marlborough, Southland, and Westland, in South Island, were formed, these local jealousies increased.

War renewed.

Sir George Grey had left New Zealand at peace in 1853, when he was transferred to Cape Colony. But his absence was soon felt, especially by the Maoris, whose interests were now neglected. Under the next Governor, Colonel Gore Browne, the control of native affairs fell into the hands of Ministers responsible to Parliament, which was by no means sympathetic to the Maoris or to laws forbidding the profitable trade in firearms and spirits and restricting the sale of native land. The Maoris in the middle of North Island thought to improve their position in 1857 by electing a prominent chief, Te Whero Whero, to be their "King," and they agreed to sell no more of their lands. Two years later the Governor insisted on buying land at Waitara, near New Plymouth, from a minor chief, despite the protest of the superior chief, Te Rangitake, backed by the leaders of the "King" movement. The Governor proclaimed martial law, occupied the disputed land, and summoned reinforcements. The Maoris therefore began in Taranaki a war which lasted for eleven years.

Grey's Second Term.

The British and colonial forces, commanded first by General Pratt and then by General Cameron, were far more numerous than the Maoris. But the troops could not overtake their agile foes in the dense forests, and, after capturing numerous "pas," seemed no nearer to a decisive victory. The

Colonial Office sent Sir George Grey back to New Zealand in 1861, trusting that he might influence the Maoris for good. The war languished for a time. Grey disliked the "King" movement, and the new "King" Tawhiao, son of Te Whero Whero. But he inquired into the Waitara land dispute, decided that the Maoris had right on their side, and offered to give up the property if the natives would yield a British estate which they had seized. Unfortunately, the Government took over the British estate without at once surrendering Waitara. This caused the Maoris to distrust Grey, who, moreover, had excited suspicion by making a military road from Auckland into the Waikato district. The war was suddenly renewed in July, 1863, and the "King" leaders threatened Auckland with attack. Cameron with the British troops steadily fought his way inland, driving the Waikato Maoris before him to the hills. The last stand was made at Orakau, where the chief Rewi with 400 followers, including women and children, held a "pa" for two days and nights against 1,300 British soldiers. Rewi had little food and no water, but he refused to yield, even when artillery was brought up, and repulsed repeated assaults. "We will fight to the end," he cried, "for ever, for ever, for ever!" Suddenly, however, he made a sortie, broke through the lines, and, after suffering heavy loss, reached the forest with the remnant of his tribe. Orakau closed the Waikato rebellion.

The War ended.

Meanwhile a fresh rising had taken place in the eastern district of Tauranga. The most desperate fighting occurred at the "Gate Pa," where the

Maoris on April 29, 1864, repulsed a large British force, and at Te Ranga, where they were severely handled and compelled to sue for peace. Many of the rebels had abandoned Christianity for the savage new creed known as "Hauhauism," from the war-cry of "Hau ! hau !" which its votaries adopted. This fierce sect, which had revived cannibalism and other Maori practices, offered vigorous resistance in Taranaki, and committed some brutal murders. Grey, after leading a volunteer force into Wanganui, declared the war at an end in 1865. But the Hauhaus were by no means subdued. General Chute marched right through their western district in January, 1866, burning and destroying; but though Taranaki was pacified, the rebellion continued in the east. It was revived by the arrival of Te Kooti in 1868. He was a Hauhau prisoner who had escaped from the Chatham Islands with other fanatics. Te Kooti's first exploit was to massacre the inhabitants, both British and native, of a village on Poverty Bay. This set many of the Maoris against him. They joined the colonial volunteers in attacking his stronghold at Ngatapa, and in hunting him down in the wild country round Lake Taupo. In 1870 Te Kooti took refuge in the "King" country south of Auckland, for his bands were exterminated.

The Maoris at Peace.

Never since have the Maoris given any serious trouble. "King" Tawhiao declined for some years to allow white men to settle in his district, but he abandoned this policy in 1883, on condition that the white men did not bring spirits with them. The railway now crosses the "King" country. Under

Grey's influence the New Zealand Parliament treated the Maoris with a wise liberality. Though much of their land was confiscated and thrown open to settlement, they were secured in the possession of the remainder. Further, by an Act of 1867 four Maori members, elected by the Maoris in both islands, were admitted to the House of Representation. Mahutu, the son of Tawhiao, has also been a Minister of the Crown, and has sat in the Legislative Council. The Act of 1867 was the last good piece of work that Grey did as Governor, before he was succeeded by Sir George Bowen in February, 1868.

CHAPTER IV

NEW ZEALAND UP TO DATE

Public Works.

When the Maori wars had ended, the colony at once began to develop its resources at a great pace. South Island had, indeed, been unaffected by the wars, and was profiting both by agriculture and by gold-mining. In North Island, the Auckland district and the neighbourhood of Wellington (the capital since 1865) were also doing well. The population of the colony had trebled since the first outbreak in 1859. But from 1870 New Zealand's progress was quickened by the "Public Works policy" which Mr. (afterwards Sir) Julius Vogel laid down. His plan was to raise a large loan to build railways and harbours, and to assist emigrants to reach the colony and settle on the land. The plan succeeded at first. The prices of wool and wheat

were so high in London that New Zealand farming was very profitable. New settlers flocked to the colony, and labouring men readily found employment on the public works. New industries, such as the export of hemp and kauri gum, were established. The colonial revenue was doubled in two years, and the population rose to 500,000 by 1881.

Provinces abolished.

The Ministry was by this time recognized as dependent only on the House of Representatives, and not on the Governor. Sir George Grey was the last Governor who could carry out his own policy, even against the wishes of Parliament. The central Government, too, was able to abolish the provincial councils, which had long hampered its work by their jealousy, and thus to make New Zealand a unitary rather than a federal State. Vogel intended that the cost of the railways should be balanced by the increased value of the public lands through which they passed. But the lands belonged to the provinces, and they objected. Vogel therefore persuaded Parliament in 1875 to abolish the provincial councils, and cut up the provinces into counties and municipal boroughs. Sir George Grey, who, on ceasing to be Governor, had retired to an island near Auckland, re-entered politics, and led the vain opposition to Vogel's Bill. In 1877 he became Prime Minister, and held office for two years. He passed an Education Act, establishing free secular schools everywhere, and he imposed a land-tax. But in 1879 he was defeated and had to resign. The Vogel policy had collapsed. Prices fell, and farmers were hard hit. The public works were finished, and the labourers were thrown out of employment. But

the interest on the loans had to be paid, so that the taxes were high. Grey's Ministry, although he had opposed Vogel's policy, fell a victim to the general dissatisfaction.

State Socialism.

Between 1879 and 1891 various short-lived Ministries gradually changed the Constitution into a pure democracy. Every man has one vote, and nobody more than one ; since 1893 every woman has had a vote as well. The lower House must be elected every three years at least. If the Legislative Council disagrees with the elected House, the Ministry has power to nominate as many new Councillors as are necessary to give it a majority ; the Councillors sit for seven years. Members of both Houses are paid. These changes having been made, it was easy for the Labour party to gain power and keep it. Its first leader, John Ballance, became Premier in 1891. On his death, in 1893, he was succeeded by Richard Seddon, the very remarkable statesman who began life as a labourer, and who ruled till he died in 1906. The Labour Ministry's first task was to break up the large estates, partly by heavy taxation, increasing with the size of a man's property, and partly by compulsory purchase. The object was to increase the number of small farms cultivated by their owners. A State bank was founded to lend money to these small farmers, so that they could improve their land.

Labour Laws.

A very elaborate series of laws has been passed for the regulation of factories and the conditions of labour. To prevent strikes, special courts were established in 1895 to decide between employers and workmen in a trade dispute. If the employers'

and workmen's unions cannot agree, they may apply to a Board of Conciliation; and if this fails to settle the dispute, they can appeal to an Arbitration Court, headed by a Judge, whose decision is final, and can be enforced by fine or imprisonment. It has been found easier for these courts to deal with unwilling employers than with unwilling workmen. A system of old age pensions for poor people, on the liberal scale of ten shillings a week from the age of sixty-five, has been in force since 1898.

Local Option.

Since 1893 the question whether intoxicating liquor should be sold in a district has been determined by the electors of that district, voting on the same day as that fixed for the Parliamentary election. They may decide either to continue the existing public-houses, to reduce their number, to abolish them altogether, or to restore them. In 1908, six out of sixty-eight districts voted for prohibition, six others rejected the proposal to restore the abolished public-houses, and seven decided to reduce the number existing. The temperance majorities in the colony have steadily increased, and further temperance legislation was passed in 1910.

The Tariff and the Navy.

To raise revenue and to protect her young industries, New Zealand has adopted a high tariff on imported goods. But this was modified in 1903 in favour of British imports, which pay smaller duties than are imposed on foreign articles. This Imperial preference has been accompanied by a readiness to contribute to the upkeep of the British Navy, upon which, apart from her own torpedo flotilla, New Zealand relies for the defence of her coasts. She

now pays £100,000 a year for this purpose, and has also offered to bear the cost of building a Dreadnought battleship. Like Australia and Canada, New Zealand sent a volunteer contingent which did good service in the South African War of 1899-1902.

Railways and Trade.

The State owns all the railways in New Zealand. North Island is traversed almost from end to end by the main line. In South Island, one line runs from Nelson halfway down the west coast, and another line runs from the south-west corner up the south and east coasts, but has yet to be extended through the northern mountains or through the Otira Gorge. Much of the trade is done by sea. The colony produces large quantities of wool, mutton, beef, butter, and cheese, and these, with gold, silver, hemp, and kauri gum, are its chief exports. Between 1898 and 1908 its export trade increased by half, and was valued at £16,000,000, out of which Great Britain took goods worth £13,000,000. Great Britain and the Australian colonies supply New Zealand with seven-eighths of her imports.

The Dominion.

The growth of the colony in wealth and enterprise and political ambition caused it to be proclaimed as a Dominion in 1907. The Dominion of New Zealand is a power in the South Pacific, with its many small island dependencies annexed in 1887 and 1901, and as a purely British community—apart from the small minority of Maoris in North Island—is destined to enjoy a prosperous future.

IV

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Area.

British South Africa is an elastic term. In its narrowest sense it means the four self-governing colonies now joined in the Union of South Africa—namely, Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal. In a wider sense it includes the native territories adjacent to these colonies, but still administered by the Crown, and Rhodesia south of the Zambesi River. In the widest sense of all, British South Africa includes also the British possessions north of the Zambesi, extending to the Zambesi-Congo watershed on the north, and to Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa in the north-east. Of the South Africa within these extreme limits, Great Britain owns about half, Germany and Portugal on the west and on the east sharing the remainder. The British portion is in area about a million square miles, or almost as large as Europe without Russia. Half of the British territory is at present within the Union.

Plateaux and Mountains.

South Africa is a tableland, most of which is 3,000 feet or more above the level of the sea. The coastal plain is narrow, except on the east in Northern Natal and Portuguese East Africa. From the coast

the land rises more or less abruptly, in several steps, to the high plateau which fills the central portion of South Africa. Each step is marked by a mountain range, the height of which increases with its distance from the sea. The passes or defiles through these ranges form the only natural highways of travel and trade. In the south the ascending steps are broadest, and the two outer ranges, the Langebergen and the Zwartebergen, are separated from the innermost and loftiest range by an immense plain called the Great Karroo, half the size of Scotland. On the south-east, however, the inner range is comparatively near to the sea. Here it is most clearly marked ; it is known as the Drakensberg, and rises to peaks of 11,000 or 12,000 feet, in Mont aux Sources and Cathkin Peak, on the eastern border of Basuto-land. The plateau to the west of the Drakensberg, from the Orange River on the south to the Witwaters-rand on the north, is the highest plain of British South Africa, being on an average over 4,000 feet above sea-level, or as high as Ben Nevis. Farther north and east, in Northern Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia, the plateau falls away into the comparatively low basin of the Limpopo River ; to the west, again, towards the German border and the Atlantic, there are low-lying plains in the basin of the Orange River. But in the centre of the continent the plateau is unbroken from the edge of the Karroo to the Congo watershed.

The Veld and the Rivers.

This plateau, which is known as the Veld, is for the most part a comparatively level region, dotted with innumerable kopjes, or hills with either a flat or a pointed top, and seamed with watercourses in

deep channels that are not visible from a distance. It is watered by the great Orange River and its important tributaries, the Molopo, the Vaal, and the Caledon, all of which, except the Molopo, rise in the Drakensberg and flow westward. The northern veld is drained by the Olifant River and other streams tributary to the Limpopo, which curves northward and then southward into the Indian Ocean, north of Delagoa Bay. Numerous smaller streams, the Gouritz, Gamtoos, Sunday, Great Fish, and Great Kei Rivers, flow southward from the edge of the plateau to the Atlantic, and there are many other short rivers on the east coast. None of these rivers is of any value for navigation. But in the far north the Zambesi, flowing almost from west to east, is navigable by steamers for hundreds of miles from its mouth. Between the Zambesi Valley and the Molopo lies the vast Kalahari Desert, a barren waste of sand.

Climate.

South Africa lies half within and half without the tropics. Of the four colonies in the Union, only the Transvaal has any portion of its territory to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn. But the veld stands so high that it enjoys a more temperate climate than other countries in similar latitudes, though the summers are hot, owing to the dryness of the air. The east coast is hotter than the west. On the east the south-east trade winds prevail, keeping the temperature fairly high throughout the year. On the west the winds blow from the south, and are distinctly cool. The rainfall, again, is much heavier on the east than on the west. The south-east trade winds bring much moisture, which is

intercepted by the lofty Drakensberg, and makes Natal very fertile. To the west of this range the rainfall diminishes rapidly, so that the centre of the country has little rain, and the west almost none. The south-western corner, round Cape Town, is, however, affected by the westerly winds, and has abundant rain, so that it has always been the best farming country in South Africa. Towards the Zambesi, again, where there is no eastern mountain barrier to block the trade winds, the rainfall is very heavy in summer. On the distribution of the rainfall depends the growth of forests. Consequently, except in the south-east and along the eastern and northern slopes of the Drakensberg, South Africa has no considerable forested areas.

Natural Resources.

South Africa depends mainly on its great mineral wealth. Within the last half-century gold and diamonds have been found in abundance, and have transformed the political and commercial conditions of the country. Before these discoveries its main industry was the rearing of horses, cattle, sheep, and ostriches, which find pasture on the veld. Cape Colony exports large quantities of wool. Agriculture has been impeded by lack of water, except in the fertile valleys and on the south-west and east coasts, but may be stimulated by artificial irrigation works. As it is, the farming industry is important. Wheat and other grains, especially maize, are grown in parts of Cape Colony, in the east of the Orange Free State, in the Central Transvaal, and in Upper Natal. In South-Western Cape Colony there are many orchards and vineyards, yielding large quantities of wine and brandy. Tropical or subtropical products, such as

tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, and bananas, are grown in Lower Natal, in the Northern Transvaal, and, on the other side of the Limpopo, in Southern Rhodesia.

Minerals.

Gold is the chief product of South Africa. In 1909 the Transvaal output was valued at over £31,000,000—or one-third of the world's total output—and that of Rhodesia at £2,600,000, and the yield is ever increasing. Diamonds are found in rich deposits in Northern Cape Colony, in the west of the Free State, and in the Transvaal; in 1907 the total output was worth about £9,000,000. There are valuable copper-mines in Western Cape Colony, near the German border, and in the Transvaal and North-Western Rhodesia. Coal, too, is found in many places, especially in Central Cape Colony, in Natal, on the banks of the Vaal River, in the Central Transvaal, and in Rhodesia to the north-west of Bulawayo.

Railways

As the chief mines are situated in the central districts, a thousand miles from the sea, they could not be properly worked until railways were built to bring up machinery, coal, and the food which the miners cannot get on the spot. The important mining centres of Johannesburg and Kimberley could hardly continue to exist without the railways that connect them with the seaports. The extension of the main Cape railway farther north, through Rhodesia to the Zambesi, and beyond it to the Congo border, has alone made it possible to develop new mining industries in regions that by nature are almost inaccessible and commercially useless. To what extent, then, modern South Africa is the creation of the railway engineer.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIVES AND THE DUTCH COLONY

The Bushmen.

South Africa has three native races. The least numerous and the least civilized are the Bushmen, the original inhabitants of the country. These little brown men, with painted bodies, survive only in the deserts and wilder regions. They are a race of hunters, killing their game with poisoned arrows. They gave trouble to the early settlers by stealing cattle for food, as the game had disappeared before the advance of the farmer. The white men and the other native races ruthlessly destroyed them, and they in turn took their revenge when they could. This savage race speaks a primitive language made of clicks and barks, and is apparently incapable of being civilized.

The Hottentots.

The native race which succeeded the Bushmen in South Africa was the Hottentot. These people lived along the sea-coast, and in the Vaal and Orange River basins. They are of medium height and size, and in colour are of a light brown. Their language has only a few clicks and no deep throat sounds, and has by some been thought to be connected with the old Egyptian tongue. The Hottentots were a pastoral people when the first European settlers arrived, and wandered over the country with their flocks and herds. The most powerful of their tribes were the Namaquas, in the north-west of Cape Colony. But they were not a military people, and were easily conquered, not so much by the Dutch and English, as by

a warlike race from the north, who reached the south coast about the same time as the Dutch.

This warlike race, the Bantus, now predominates in South Africa. They are big and powerful black men, with a strict system of tribal government, and in past times were kept under military discipline by their chiefs. They not only possess cattle, but till the soil and have some skill in metal-work. Their chief peoples are the Kaffirs, the Basutos, Pondos, Zulus, Matabele, and Bechuanas, with all of whom the British colonists have had in turn to deal. The Bantus.

South Africa was discovered by the Portuguese, who in the course of centuries gradually made their way down the West African coast. Bartholomew Diaz in 1487 reached the Orange River, and then was driven south by a gale. On his return he sighted the Cape of Good Hope, which he called the Cape of Storms, but which was renamed by his King, John II. In 1497 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape on his way to India, and thus opened a sea-route which soon became familiar. The Portuguese did not attempt to settle in South Africa, deterred by the fate of Almeida, Viceroy of the Indies, who in 1510 was killed with a party of his men at Table Bay by the Hottentots. They preferred to go on to Delagoa Bay or Mozambique. But when the Dutch and English began to trade with the East Indies, and especially Batavia (Java), they found Table Bay useful as a place of call, where fresh water could be had and their vessels repaired. European Discovery.

The advantage of having a permanent station, where supplies could be kept for ships in need, induced the Dutch East India Company to establish Dutch Occupation.

a small fort at Table Bay in 1652. This Fort Good Hope was placed under the command of a ship's surgeon, Jan van Riebeck. Like St. Helena, which had been occupied by the English East India Company in 1651, Fort Good Hope was intended only as a victualling-station, where vegetables could be grown and fresh meat obtained. But, as it was costly to maintain, the company in 1657 allowed a few of their old servants to take up land near the fort. These settlers, who paid a land-tax, were the first burghers of Cape Colony. They were, unfortunately, permitted to import slaves in 1658, on the ground that the Hottentots would not work for them. Thus the infant colony was hampered from the first by a mistaken belief that the white man in South Africa was degraded by manual labour.

Growth of the Colony.

The neighbouring Hottentots sold the land between Saldanha and False Bays to the Dutch in 1672, but resented the intrusion of Dutch hunters farther inland. A native war followed, in which the Dutch were victorious; but the inland tribes refused any longer to supply the fort with cattle, thinking, perhaps, to make the white men leave the country. The company was thus obliged to encourage settlers who would rear cattle and sheep, and to find them land for the purpose. Under the commander Simon van der Stel (1679-1699) the colony was extended eastwards and northwards, and a number of Huguenot refugees from France were allowed to settle in the new districts round Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. In 1700 a party occupied the Tulbagh district, the first portion of the lower plateau to be settled. Adventurous

elephant-hunters began to roam far and wide over the interior. Graziers, seeking large areas of pasture for their cattle, pushed farther and farther eastward and northward, and farmers followed them. By the year 1780 Dutch immigrants were to be found scattered over almost the whole of the old Cape Colony, as far north as the Orange River, and as far east along the coast as the Great Fish River.

Internal dissensions.

The Dutch East India Company continued to rule the colony through its officials. They were instructed to treat the burghers with consideration, especially after the rising at Stellenbosch in 1707 against an unpopular Governor; but they knew nothing of representative government in the modern sense. The Governor was assisted by an official Court of Policy. The outlying districts were administered by an official Bailiff, or "Landdrost," with the aid of "Heemraden"—Councillors selected by the Governor from lists furnished by their fellows—who dealt with ordinary law cases as well as local affairs. This paternal rule gave satisfaction so long as it was honest. But under a corrupt Governor like Van Plettenberg (1771-1785) it provoked opposition. The officials were adherents of the Prince of Orange, their Governor-General, while the burghers, influenced by the American Revolution, professed themselves republicans, and demanded a share in the government of the colony. They had a grievance against the company, because it would not act vigorously against the Kosas, a Bantu people who crossed the eastern frontier and plundered the outlying farms. The burghers, with little help from Cape Town, fought against them in 1781 and 1793,

in what are called the First and Second Kaffir Wars ; but the Company, in making peace, allowed the Kosas to retain a large district to the west of the Fish River, and blamed the farmers for ill-treating the natives.

Insurrection and Conquest.

The Company, almost ruined by the loss of its Far Eastern trade in the American War, was in fact no longer able, if it had wished, to spend money on South Africa. The Colony, which was forbidden to trade with any nation except Holland, suffered with the Company. Political grievances and commercial distress led the burghers of the eastern districts, Graaff Reinet and Swellendam, to revolt against the Company in 1795. Meanwhile the occupation of Holland by the French Revolutionary armies had induced the British Government to take the Dutch colonies before they could be acquired by France. A British squadron under Admiral Elphinstone landed troops at Simon's Bay in July, 1795. The Dutch Governor surrendered two months later, and the revolted burghers in the interior recognized British authority without fighting. In February, 1803, by the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain gave up Cape Colony, with most of its other conquests. But Holland, now the Batavian Republic, retained the Colony for only three years more. War soon broke out again with France and her allies, and a fresh British expedition was sent to the Cape. Sir David Baird, with 4,000 men, landed, defeated a small Dutch force, and captured Cape Town on January 10, 1806. The conquest was confirmed by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH CAPE COLONY: THE GREAT TREK

Dutch grievances.

THE new British rulers of Cape Colony did not at first interfere with the local Dutch institutions, and the burghers, being accustomed to paternal government, did not resent the presence of a powerful British Governor in place of a weak and unsympathetic Dutch East India Company's agent. But this happy state of affairs did not last long. The new Government needed revenue, and found it by levying a land-tax (or rent) on the true value of the farms, instead of charging each farmer a certain sum, whatever the size of his holding. The Government gave up its right to take back the land, if necessary, but the farmers disliked having to pay more taxes. A more serious grievance was found in the Government's attempt to protect the natives against the farmers, and to enforce the law by means of Hottentot police, for whom the Dutch had a profound contempt. When, in 1815, a farmer was killed in resisting arrest by these native police, some farmers on the eastern border took up arms by way of protest against what they regarded as an outrage upon white men. The movement was easily suppressed, and would have been forgotten had it not been punished with mistaken severity. Five of the leaders were executed at Slachter's Nek on March 9, 1816—a tragedy to which Dutch dislike of British rule used to be largely ascribed.

Kaffir wars.

The Government meanwhile gave satisfaction by dealing vigorously with the Kaffirs on the eastern

frontier, whom the Company had failed to master. The Kosas were driven back across the Fish River in 1811-12; and in 1819, after they had again invaded the colony and been defeated, their country was annexed up to the Keiskama River. Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor (1814-1826), made good the victory by settling 4,000 British immigrants in the Zuurveld, which he called Albany, to protect the frontier. They founded Bathurst and Port Elizabeth. But the Kosas soon began cattle-raiding again, and in 1834 invaded the Colony in force. Again they were utterly routed, and driven eastward in confusion, by troops under the command of Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith. The Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban (1834-1838), followed Somerset's policy by annexing a fresh tract of land up to the Kei River, to be called Queen Adelaide Province, the friendly natives in which were to form a buffer State between the Colony and the hostile Kosas. Colonial opinion favoured this action, but Lord Glenelg, the Whig Secretary for War and the Colonies, strongly disapproved of any extension of the Colony, and, on the ground that the Kaffirs had been ill-treated, ordered the old frontier to be restored. The Governor, on protesting, was relieved of his office.

The Missions.

The incoming of British settlers had changed the situation. In 1827 the Government, concluding that Dutch institutions were no longer suitable for a British colony, abolished the "Landdrosts," and "Heemraden," and appointed Resident Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, and Civil Commissioners, to manage the districts. It also ordained the use of

English as the official language. The use of Dutch was not again recognized until 1882. These changes were less unpopular with the farmers than the growing influence of the European missionaries at Cape Town, and still more in Downing Street. Five great missionary societies had begun work among the natives by 1829, and achieved remarkable results in converting and civilizing both Hottentots and Kaffirs. But they failed to sympathize adequately with the views of the Dutch farmer, who in his turn was unduly sceptical of the value of missions to those whom he regarded as natural inferiors. The missionaries, through their friends at home, gradually caused the British public, then under the influence of the anti-Slavery movement, and the Government, especially after the Whigs took office in 1830, to take sides with the South African natives against the Dutch farmers, without a very close inquiry into the merits of each dispute. The British public did not, for instance, distinguish between the peaceful Hottentots and the fierce and unruly Kaffirs. The punishment of Kaffir marauders was too often regarded as equivalent to the ill-treatment of Hottentot servants. This fundamental misunderstanding was the true cause of the differences between the Dutch and the British in South Africa.

Slavery abolished.

The abolition of slavery by Act of Parliament in 1833 brought a fresh grievance. The Dutch farmers had employed slaves, principally Malays and Malagasy, for generations; but since further importation had been forbidden in 1806, they were becoming reconciled to the gradual disappearance of a bad custom. The Act, however, gave them only a year's

notice, and the compensation to be paid was estimated to be only a third of the value of the slaves. The freed slaves in many cases took to a vagrant life, and gave much trouble to the farmers.

The Great Trek.

All these causes of irritation were brought to a head by what the Dutch regarded as Lord Glenelg's surrender to the Kaffirs on the eastern frontier in 1835. The more active spirits among the burghers, commonly known since then as Boers (from the Dutch word for farmer), determined to migrate to the north, beyond the British frontier, where they could found new settlements and manage the natives in their own way without interference from Downing Street or the missionary headquarters at Exeter Hall. The districts beyond the Orange had at that time been ravaged and depopulated by a confederacy of savage Bantu tribes known as Zulus, from the tribe of their great chief Chaka. The Boers resolved to occupy these vacant lands. Led by Hendrik Potgieter, the first party, or "commando," with their families and goods in ox-waggons, left Cape Colony in 1836 on their journey, or "trek," northward into the wilderness. The Government vainly tried to stop them or to prevent others from following. Various small commandos slowly made their way across the Orange River. Some pushed northward still over the Vaal to the Zoutpansberg, and others crossed the Drakensberg into the Tugela Valley towards Port Natal. They fought and ultimately defeated the fierce Matabele to the west of the mountains, and the Zulus to the east, and formed small settlements which became in after years the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal.

The emigration of the Boers compelled attention, as proving that the Cape Government was unpopular with many of the most valuable colonists. The grant of a Constitution, it was felt, could not be much longer delayed. Native troubles postponed the question, but in 1853 Cape Colony received a Parliament. It consisted of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly, both composed of elected members. Subject to a property qualification—higher for the Council than for the House—both white men and natives could vote. Parliament could make laws, subject to the veto of the Governor and the Crown. But it had no control over the Government, which, as before, was composed of the chief officials. Not until 1872 was the Ministry selected from the party which had a majority in the House of Assembly.

The Cape Constitution.

The Boers who went on the Great Trek were still regarded as British subjects, and the Cape Government soon found itself compelled to intervene in their affairs. The first commando to arrive in Natal found a small English party there who had built the town of Durban (see p. 254). Both were slaughtered by the Zulus, and Durban was destroyed in 1838. But they were soon avenged by a fresh Boer commando, under Pretorius, who defeated the Zulus and proclaimed the Republic of Natal in 1840. The republic soon came into collision with the Pondos on its southern frontier. This war induced the Cape Government to occupy Durban in 1842. The burghers at first resisted, but soon accepted British control. Most of them, however, returned westward across the Drakensberg, and in 1844 Natal

Natal annexed.

was formally declared to be a dependency of the Cape, under a Lieutenant-Governor. It received a separate legislature in 1848, and was made a separate colony in 1856.

The Orange River District annexed.

Similar measures were taken in the district north of the Orange River. The Boers who settled between the Orange and the Modder Rivers found their presence resented by the Griquas, ruled by the chief Adam Kok at Phillipolis. In 1845 the Cape Government intervened to arrange a compromise, by which the Griquas were to keep the land between the Orange and Modder, while the Boers were to have the land farther north between the Modder and Riet Rivers. A British Commissioner was stationed at Bloemfontein to govern the district, nominally for Adam Kok, but really for the Cape authorities. As in Natal, the Boers who disliked British rule moved away. In 1848 Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, annexed the whole country up to the Vaal. This step annoyed the Boers in the north round Winburg, who had hitherto been governing themselves. Joined by others from across the Vaal, they rose in revolt, and captured Bloemfontein, but were soon afterwards defeated by Smith in the action of Boomplaats on August 29, 1848. A Legislative Council of nominees was set up in the "Orange River Sovereignty," as it was called, in 1849. But here the parallel with Natal ends. The Basutos, to the east of the new colony, were angered by the loss of their lands to the west of the Caledon, and provoked a serious war in 1851-52. This war made the British Government fearful lest it had undertaken too much responsibility in the interior. Accordingly, in 1852

the Sand River Convention was made with the Boers across the Vaal, by which they were granted independence. In 1854 the Orange River Sovereignty itself was abandoned. The British troops retired, and the Boers formed a republic, known as the Orange Free State (see p. 261).

British Kaffraria.

The home authorities had been influenced, in their decision to give up the northern territories, by the difficulty and expense which they had incurred in defending the eastern frontier against the Kaffirs. In 1847, after a seventh Kaffir War, Sir Harry Smith had reversed the policy of Lord Glenelg, and re-annexed the land up to the Kei River. It was now called British Kaffraria, and was to be ruled for the Crown, and not for the colony, by the High Commissioner for South Africa—a new office created for the Governor in 1847, so that he might deal with matters beyond the colonial frontier. The dependency revolted in the "Great Kaffir War" of 1850, Hottentots joining the Kosas in a final attempt to shake off the white man's yoke; but Kaffraria was pacified after three years of fighting. The Kosas gave no more trouble. In 1857 they destroyed their cattle and crops in a fit of religious mania, and themselves perished of famine. The eastern frontier remained for some years at peace.

Cape Colony had ceased to control all the white settlers in South Africa. Another colony, Natal, and two independent republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, had come into existence. Their separate careers must now be briefly traced.

CHAPTER IV

NATAL

Discovery and Settlement.

NATAL was given its name by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese sailor who first sighted its coast on Christmas Day ("Dies Natalis Domini," in Latin), 1497. The Dutch East India Company, nearly 200 years later, bought from the natives a portion of the coast between the Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers, which the Dutch knew as Natal, but they made no attempt to settle there. The country was at that time densely inhabited by warlike Bantus. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Chaka, the Zulu chief, massacred his black neighbours and laid Natal waste. He was not unfriendly to white men, however, and in 1824 granted Port Natal and the surrounding district to a British party headed by Henry Francis Fynn. These adventurers helped Chaka and his successor, Dingaan, who killed Chaka in 1828, to conduct their wars, and ruled as petty chiefs over native bands. Hence the Cape and home authorities regarded them with disfavour. The settlers founded a town called Durban, after Governor D'Urban, in 1835, and asked that the district should be annexed as the colony of Victoria. But Lord Glenelg would not agree to any extension of British territory.

The Dutch Trekkers.

In 1837 a body of the Cape farmers who had gone on trek arrived, under Pieter Retief (see p. 251). Dingaan gave him so hearty a welcome that Retief brought more settlers into the country. Their

numbers alarmed the Zulu chief. In 1838 Retief and many of his followers were treacherously murdered in Dingaan's camp. Another party were surprised and slaughtered at Weenen, the "place of weeping." The Durban traders who hurried to the rescue with native forces were annihilated, and their settlement destroyed. Potgieter himself, with a Boer commando, had to retreat. But later in the year the Boers in Natal were reinforced from Cape Colony, and under Andries Pretorius inflicted a decisive defeat on the Zulus at Blood River. The anniversary of this victory on December 16 is still observed as a public holiday, and called "Dingaan's Day." The Boers followed up their success, and helped a section of the Zulus under Panda to revolt against his brother Dingaan. By 1840 they had so utterly crushed the Zulu power that they could proclaim the land between the Buffalo and Tugela Rivers on the north and the Umzimvubu on the south to be the property of the Republic of Natal. As already stated, however, the Cape Government felt obliged to intervene when the Natal Boers attacked the Pondos to the south, and formally annexed the country in 1844. The southern boundary was now moved back to the Umzimkulu, though this step was partly retraced in 1866.

Native Immigration.

Most of the Natal Boers went back to the west of the Drakensberg rather than live under Cape rule. New British settlers took their places. But the neighbouring Bantu tribes, attracted by the peace and order prevailing under British administration, immigrated in large numbers into Natal, and thus helped still further to discourage white immigration.

The natives were given separate locations in which Kaffir law prevailed, and they had to pay a hut-tax to the colony. They increased very rapidly, and had to be brought under stricter control as time went on. But they have seldom occasioned serious anxiety, although their overwhelming numbers have seemed to menace the small white population. There was trouble with the chief Langalibalele in 1873, but the rising under Bambaata in 1906 was in some respects the gravest that has occurred. Bishop Colenso of Natal was the ardent champion of Langalibalele, and caused the native question to develop into a long and bitter controversy.

A Separate Constitution.

Natal received a nominee legislature in 1848, but was not entirely separated from Cape Colony till 1856. It then obtained a Legislative Council of four nominated and twelve elected members, with a Lieutenant-Governor to administer the government. The colony was not granted a responsible Ministry until 1893, when, at the instance of Sir John Robinson, the legislature was divided into two houses—a small nominated Council, with members sitting for ten years; and an elected Assembly, renewable at least every four years. The Ministry was henceforth composed of members of the legislature. The franchise is low, and is theoretically open to all races; but the conditions imposed exclude all coloured men except a very few natives or Indians, none of whom are in future to obtain a vote.

Indian Immigration.

For lack of white labour to develop the cultivation of sugar, cotton, arrowroot, coffee, and tea, which are the main products of the country, the early Natal planters were forced to import coolies from

ndia under agreement to serve for a term of years. The Indians found the climate and conditions favourable, and have remained in the colony, while many others have followed them. The result is that the Indian population is now about as large as the white, though the natives outnumber either section by ten to one. The Indians are not only farm-labourers, but also conduct most of the small retail trade.

The Zulu War.

While Panda lived, the Zulus north of the Tugela kept peace with the white men. The British authorities recognized Panda's independence in 1843, but required him to cede St. Lucia Bay as a harbour which might be useful. But when, at Panda's death in 1872, his warlike son, Cetewayo, became chief, he soon began to show his contempt for Europeans. He threatened the Boers of the Transvaal who were occupying his western districts, which are now called Utrecht and Vryheid; and the British Government, having annexed the Transvaal in 1877 (see p. 266), was compelled to intervene on behalf both of the Boers and of Natal. Cetewayo refused to disband his army at the demand of Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of the Cape. In 1879 a British force, under Lord Chelmsford, invaded Zululand. Twenty thousand Zulus surprised his unfortified camp at Isandhlwana on January 22, and by a sudden rush overwhelmed the detachment of 1,500 men, half of them regulars, who were guarding it during the absence of the main body. On the same day another Zulu force, 4,000 strong, tried to cut Lord Chelmsford's communications with Natal by destroying an outpost of 100 men under Lieutenants Bromhead and Chard, who

were guarding a ford over the Buffalo River known as Rorke's Drift. But Bromhead and Chard, by a heroic defence, succeeded in repulsing the enemy. Natal was saved, and Lord Chelmsford proceeded to defeat the Zulus in three actions at Kambula (March 29), Ginginhlovo (April 2), and Ulundi, Cetewayo's chief kraal or town (July 4). The Zulu military power was broken, and Cetewayo himself was hunted down and captured.

Zululand annexed.

The British Government, unwilling to assume responsibility for Zululand, first tried the plan of dividing it into thirteen small districts under as many chiefs. As this led to anarchy, Cetewayo was restored in 1883. But he could not regain his authority, was defeated by insurgents, and died in his flight. The Transvaal Boers again occupied Utrecht and Vryheid, where they set up the New Republic in 1884, adding it to the Transvaal four years later. This action led the British Government to proclaim the remainder of Zululand British territory in 1887, under a Commissioner at Eshowe, and at length, in 1897, to annex it, with Tongaland, to Natal. The Boer districts of Zululand were also added to Natal in 1903, after the South African War. The colony was thus doubled in area, and is now slightly larger than Ireland, with a total population of about 1,200,000.

Port and Railway.

Pietermaritzburg is the capital and seat of government, but Natal possesses at Durban one of the very few good harbours in South Africa, and derives much profit from the transit trade with the interior passing through Durban. The port has been connected by railway with the Transvaal through Lady-

mith and over Laing's Nek, and with the Orange ree State through Ladysmith and over Van eenen's Pass. The railway was mainly con- ructed by the colonial Government. A connec- on with the Cape system through Griqualand ast is also planned.

CHAPTER V

THE ORANGE FREE STATE

The Boer Settlement.

HE Orange Free State, as the country between the range and Vaal Rivers was called from 1854 to 900, and as it is now to be known by the South frica Act of 1909, was first colonized in 1836 Boers ho had left Cape Colony on the Great Trek orthward (p. 250). The region was then dominated y the Matabele, a fierce Bantu race closely related o the Zulus, and ruled by Moselikatse, whose head- uarters were on the Marico River in the west of ie Transvaal. They attacked and destroyed some arties of the Boers who had encamped between ie Vet and Vaal Rivers, and compelled Hendrik otgieter, after a hard fight, to retreat to Thaba chu, on the Basuto frontier, with the loss of all s cattle and sheep. In January, 1837, Potgieter venged these reverses by surprising the Matabele raal and routing their army ; and later in the year, ith 330 burghers, he inflicted on them a second efeat, which proved decisive. Moselikatse retired orthward across the Limpopo into what is now hodesia, and left the vast region to the south in

possession of the Boers. Potgieter founded the town of Winburg on the Vet River, and other small settlements were formed. A simple Government was established, with an elective "Volksraad," or Assembly, and a Commandant-General, Pieter Retief, who was soon to be killed by the Zulus in Natal (see p. 255).

British Intervention.

The Boers who settled in the southern district, between the Orange and the Modder, became involved in disputes with the Griquas, who claimed the land. The Cape Government therefore intervened in 1845, and arranged a compromise by which the Griquas were to have the country between the Orange and the Riet; while the Boers kept the district between the Riet and the Modder, under a British Commissioner at Bloemfontein. Sir Harry Smith in 1848 went farther, and annexed the whole country up to the Vaal, much to the annoyance of the free settlers at Winburg. Joined by Boers from the Transvaal, the Winburg Boers rose in revolt under Pretorius, the conqueror of the Zulus. They captured Bloemfontein, and fought an action at Boomplaats, August 29, 1848, against a small force of British regulars (see p. 252). The Boers were beaten, with heavy loss on both sides, and gave up the struggle. The "Orange River Sovereignty" was proclaimed, with a British Resident and a nominee Council. But in 1851 Moshesh, the Basuto chief, angered by the annexation of part of his border districts west of the Caledon, declared war. A large British force, under Sir George Cathcart, invaded Basutoland, and held its own with difficulty, until Moshesh agreed to terms of peace.

This war, and the fear lest continued possession of the Orange River Sovereignty should bring others in its train, made the British Government determine to evacuate the country in 1854.

The Free State formed.

The Boers, recognized as independent by the Convention of Bloemfontein, at once formed a republic, the Orange Free State. It had a single elective chamber, or "Volksraad," elected by white residents, and was governed by a President elected by the people from a list prepared by the Volksraad. He held office for five years, and was subject to the Assembly. Every man over sixteen was liable for military service, providing his own rifle and horse. The burghers elected their officers. In its early years the Free State was troubled by internal dissensions. A large party desired union with the Transvaal, and in 1860 elected Marthinus Pretorius, then the Transvaal President, to be President also of the Free State. But the Transvaal was now unwilling, and the agitation came to nothing; for Pretorius resigned the Transvaal presidency. Under Jan Hendrik Brand, a Cape barrister and son of the Cape Speaker, who was President from 1864 to 1888, the Free State entered on a happier period, and was able to advance and secure its frontiers to the east and west.

Basutoland.

Moshesh, the Basuto chief, long proved a thorn in the side of the Free State. He encouraged cattle-raiding on the border, and repulsed a Boer invasion in 1858. But under Brand the Free State forces were more successful, and in 1867-68 almost completed the conquest of the Basutos. As refugees were flocking into Natal and Cape Colony, the Cape

Governor urged the Free State to desist. Then, at the request of Moshesh, he proclaimed Basutoland British territory. The Free State protested, but agreed in 1869 to be content with the very fertile Basuto country west of the Caledon, and to recognize the British protectorate over the remainder, which is about half as large again as Wales. Basutoland was annexed to the Cape in 1871, but proved so troublesome a dependency that it was transferred to the Imperial authorities in 1884. Since then it has been carefully maintained as a dependent native State, from which white settlers are excluded. Its neutrality was observed by both sides in the war of 1899-1902.

The Diamond Fields.

On its western border the Free State bought in 1861 the lands claimed by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Phillipolis. But other Griqua chiefs disputed his rights. The question assumed great importance when, in 1867, diamonds were found in Griqualand West, and diggers flocked to the Lower Vaal. The Free State appointed a magistrate to keep order in the mining camps—the chief of which became the town of Kimberley—and thus asserted that they were in Free State territory. But a minor chief named Nicholas Waterboer said that the land was his by inheritance, and offered to cede it to Great Britain. A similar dispute arose with the Transvaal as to alleged diamond-fields farther north. The Transvaal agreed to arbitration, though the Free State declined. Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, was called in as umpire, and decided in favour of Waterboer. Thereupon the Cape Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, annexed the diamond-fields as

Griqualand West. The Free State vainly protested, but in 1876 accepted a sum of £90,000 as compensation.

During the remainder of President Brand's long term of office, and under President Reitz (1889-1896), the Free State was at peace. The extension of the Cape main line through Bloemfontein to the Vaal by 1891 greatly increased the State's prosperity. President Steyn, who was elected early in 1896, had new difficulties to face. The Jameson Raid of December, 1895, had aroused Boer suspicions. The Free State grew less friendly towards Great Britain; it treated foreigners with liberality, but felt it necessary to make a defensive alliance with the Transvaal. When war broke out between Great Britain and the Transvaal in October, 1899, the Free State joined in, and was the first to suffer. It was overrun by the British forces in 1900, and formally annexed as the Orange River Colony. The Transvaal Alliance.

Responsible Government was, however, restored in 1907, and the colony is now, as a province of the Union, to have again its old name. The Orange Free State is about as large as England, but its total population is barely 400,000, or less than that of Sheffield. The proportion of white inhabitants—nearly two-fifths—is higher than in any other South African colony.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSVAAL

Boer Settlement.

THE founders of the Orange Free State, as explained in the last chapter, had to expel the Matabele from the region north of the Vaal in order to secure themselves against attack. Thus the country between the Vaal and Limpopo Rivers, now known as the Transvaal, was all available for settlement. The founder of the Transvaal was the great Boer leader, Hendrik Potgieter, who settled at Potchefstroom, a little to the north of the Vaal, and with his followers colonized the district up to the Magaliesberg. In 1844 this small community set up a Volksraad. Adventurous parties moved north-eastward towards the seaward edge of the High Veld, and founded remote settlements at Lydenburg in the east, and in the Zoutpansberg in the far north, near the Limpopo Valley. Others crossed the Magaliesberg, and settled at Rustenburg. The British annexation of the Orange Free State in 1848 (see p. 260) caused many Boers to migrate north of the Vaal, headed by Pretorius. In 1852 the British Government formally acknowledged the independence of the Transvaal by the Sand River Convention (p. 253).

The Constitution.

The little groups of Boer farmers, scattered over a region nearly as large as the United Kingdom, did not find it easy to form a common government. Each of the four districts—Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Lydenburg, and Zoutpansberg—into which the republic was loosely divided, was engrossed in its

own local affairs. In 1857 delegates from the districts agreed to form the South African Republic, and drew up a democratic Constitution, with an elected President, Commandant-General, Executive Council, and Volksraad sitting for two years. Marthinus Pretorius, son of the Free State leader, who had died in 1853, was chosen President, and Pretoria, newly founded and named after the old Pretorius, was selected as the capital. But the districts were slow to unite. Lydenburg declared itself a separate republic for three years (1857-1860). Then Pretorius transferred his services to the Free State, and rival claimants to the vacant presidency raised a civil war. Peace was restored in 1864 by the re-election of Pretorius, and Paul Kruger, who as a boy had come northward from the Cape with Potgieter, and who had been active in the civil war, was chosen as Commandant-General.

Native Troubles

The Boers had had some trouble with the Bechuanas on their western frontier, and in one of these little wars the station of the great missionary, Livingstone, at Kolobeng, was destroyed. Livingstone reported unfavourably concerning the Boers, and influenced British opinion against them. The Bechuanas resented the Boer plan of making the natives work for them as unpaid apprentices. On the eastern frontier the South African Republic had sterner foes to face. One powerful chief in the Lydenburg district, named Sekukuni, defied the Boers, and repulsed a strong commando in 1876. The Zulus, under Cetewayo, now became restive, as Boer farmers were settling in their western district, round Utrecht and Vryheid. The Boers did not

fear the Zulus, but were not strong enough to conquer them. Meanwhile, under Thomas Burgers, a pastor from the Cape, who had been elected President in 1872, the central Government had lost all authority and was bankrupt.

Annexation.

In December, 1876, Sir Theophilus Shepstone arrived in Pretoria as a special British Commissioner. He was authorized by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, to annex the republic if he thought fit. This he did on April 12, 1877, on the ground that the republic could not govern itself, and was threatened with a native war which might endanger the other white settlements. He renamed it the Transvaal Territory. Some of the burghers welcomed the change, as trade improved; but the majority, led by Paul Kruger, disliked British control, and especially the autocratic rule of Sir Owen Lanyon, a Colonel who succeeded Shepstone as administrator. The Zulu War of 1879 freed the Transvaal from a serious menace, and Sekukúni was conquered by a British force, after sharp fighting, later in the year. The Boers remained quiet, expecting that Gladstone, who came into power in April, 1880, would restore their independence. Instead he merely offered them representative government.

The Boer Rising.

The Boers now resolved to fight. On Dingaan's Day, December 16, 1880, they hoisted the republican flag at Heidelberg, and elected Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius, as their leaders. The British garrisons at Pretoria and Potchefstroom were blockaded. A detachment of the 94th Regiment, marching to Pretoria, was met by a Boer force at Bronkhorst

Spruit, and, on refusing to retire, was attacked and compelled to surrender, with the loss of more than half its numbers. The Boers, under Joubert, then occupied Laing's Nek, the pass over the Drakensberg into Natal. Sir George Colley, commanding the Natal garrison, attacked them with a small force on Janary 28, 1881, but was beaten by the good rifle-shooting of the Boers. He was repulsed again at Ingogo on February 7. Then on February 26, with 600 men, he made a night march, and occupied Majuba Hill, which commanded the Boer position. Early next morning a small Boer force climbed the hill and drove the British off. Colley himself was killed, and only half his force escaped.

Independence Regained.

Large British reinforcements now arrived in Natal, but Gladstone ordered an armistice, and in March, 1881, peace was made. The Boers were to have their independence, subject to the suzerainty of the British Crown. They were not to deal with foreign affairs, and were to accept a British Resident at Pretoria. But by the Convention of London in 1884 the restrictions were modified, and the Boers were allowed to conclude foreign treaties, subject to British approval. Boer adventurers in Bechuanaland had formed the republics of Stellaland and Goshen, and parts of these were added to the Transvaal at the same time. In a similar way the Transvaal gained from Zululand the districts of Utrecht and Vryheid, where Boers had formed the New Republic in 1884. It was also allowed to annex Swaziland in 1894. The first and only President of the revived South African Republic was Paul Kruger, an able and ambitious man.

The Rand Gold-fields.

The tranquillity of the Republic was soon disturbed by the discovery of a very rich gold-field on the Witwatersrand, south of Pretoria, in 1884, and the founding of Johannesburg in 1886. Gold had already been found in the north and east, especially near Lydenburg and at Barberton, on the Swazi border. But the Rand was far more accessible and far more important. In a few years Johannesburg had become a large and prosperous city, with a mixed European population intent on making money, and entirely out of sympathy with the slow and homely Boer farmers. These "uitlanders," or foreigners, represented the interests of large mining companies, whose shareholders lived in Europe and America, so that Johannesburg had the eyes of the world constantly upon it.

Uitlander Grievances.

President Kruger was ready to encourage mining enterprise and to profit by it. He sanctioned the construction of railways to Johannesburg from the Free State border, from the Natal border, and from the Portuguese frontier at Komati Poort, so that the Rand could be reached by Cape Town, Durban, or Delagoa Bay. But he was determined not to let the "uitlanders" control the Government, and therefore altered the franchise law in 1890, so that a man could not have a vote until he had lived ten years in the Transvaal. The officials, mostly foreigners, were unpopular with the "uitlanders," who accused them of taking bribes from the persons or companies holding monopolies for the building of railways and the sale of dynamite, spirits, and other articles. President Kruger strove also to separate the Transvaal from the rest of South

Africa by taxing goods from Cape Colony more heavily than those coming from Delagoa Bay, so that the Portuguese port should become, as it were, the front-door of the Transvaal towards Europe. In 1895, when merchants tried to evade the heavy rates on the Transvaal section of the Cape Town-Pretoria line by sending their goods in waggons from the Free State border, he forbade the transport of goods across the "drifts," or fords, of the Vaal River, but yielded to British protests. The "uitlanders," who were yearly becoming more numerous, complained bitterly of President Kruger's administration, and formed a National Union in 1892.

The Jameson Raid.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the Cape Premier, thought in 1895 that it was possible for the "uitlanders," with help from outside, to overthrow the President. Therefore in December, 1895, Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia, with a force of Rhodesian Police and volunteers, numbering about 500 men, marched from the western border, near Mafeking, towards Johannesburg. The invaders were met near Krugersdorp on January 2, 1896, and compelled to surrender to an overwhelming force of Boers. The "uitlander" leaders at Johannesburg were tried and punished for attempted rebellion. President Kruger was confirmed in his suspicions of British good faith by this "Jameson Raid," and refused to make adequate concessions to the "uitlanders" unless Great Britain acknowledged the complete independence of the Transvaal.

War and Annexation.

During the summer of 1899 the Transvaal was arming, and British troops were sent to Cape Colony and Natal. In October, President Kruger issued an

ultimatum, threatening war if the British reinforcements were not sent home again. War at once began (see Chapter VIII.), and led in 1900 to the annexation of the Transvaal. President Kruger retired to Europe, and died there. Peace was restored in 1902, and in 1906 the Transvaal colony received self-government. Every white man who had lived six months in the country was now to have a vote. The Boer Commander-in-Chief, General Louis Botha, became the first Prime Minister of the new British colony, and marked the occasion by presenting the Cullinan diamond, the largest diamond in the world, which had been found in the Premier Mine, to King Edward on behalf of the Transvaal.

CHAPTER VII

BRITISH EXPANSION TO THE NORTH

Cape Politics.

It is time to return to Cape Colony. After the "Great Kaffir War" of 1850-1853, and the separation from the Free State and Natal in 1854-1856, the old colony was at peace for many years. It obtained responsible government in 1872, from which time the Ministry was chosen from the party having a majority in the House of Assembly. The use of the Dutch language was allowed in Parliament from 1882. In this year the Dutch farmers formed a new political party called the Afrikander Bond, which aimed at making a South African nation, and was in general sympathy with the Boer republics. The

real leader of the Bond was Jan Hofmeyr, a journalist who never held office as Minister, but was for many years the most powerful man in South Africa. The British colonists, mainly townsfolk, gradually formed another party, known as the Progressives. Before that party came into being, the chief advocate of territorial expansion in South Africa under the British flag was Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman who, after making a fortune in the Kimberley diamond-mines, had entered Cape politics, and was Premier from 1890 to 1896. Rhodes was largely instrumental in securing for the Empire the vast territories to the north and west of the Transvaal.

The Kaffir Frontier.

On its eastern frontier, Cape Colony steadily gained from the independent Bantu tribes, after Sir Harry Smith had, as already stated (p. 253), reversed the Glenelg policy and annexed the land up to the Kei River. It was found impossible to stop there, for the border tribes were always giving trouble, and in 1877 provoked the ninth Kaffir War. This war ended with the annexation of the Transkei, a district on the coast. Tembuland, the adjacent country, and the district to the north-west at the foot of the Drakensberg, which had been settled with Griquas, and was known as Griqualand East, were in turn placed under British rule. When Pondoland, between Griqualand East and the Indian Ocean, was annexed in 1894, Cape Colony was extended to the southern border of Natal.

Across the Orange.

After the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854, the Cape Government kept the Orange River as their frontier until they were compelled by circumstances to cross it. On the

north-east they decided to protect the Basutos against the Free State in 1868, and then to annex the country to Cape Colony in 1871. On the north-west they resolved, in the same year (1871), to occupy the new diamond-fields, which were now called Griqualand West. The Free State and a Griqua chief, Nicholas Waterboer, claimed the district, but an arbitrator decided for Waterboer, who ceded his rights to Great Britain (pp. 262-3). The new Crown colony was annexed to the Cape in 1880. It comprised not only the triangle formed by the Orange, the Vaal, and the Free State border, but a large district to the north and west of the Vaal.

Bechuanaland.

The growth of the town of Kimberley brought enterprising new settlers to the extreme north of the colony. They began to take an active interest in the neighbouring Bechuanaland, hitherto known only to a few missionaries, traders, and hunters of the elephant and lion. The trade with the interior seemed to be worth developing, and the rich gold-discoveries in the Transvaal encouraged the belief that other gold-fields might exist farther north. The route to the north, it was contended, must be secured by Great Britain. The Boers of the Western Transvaal, however, had designs upon Bechuanaland. Parties of adventurers pushed westward across the ill-defined frontier, and set up two small republics, which they called Stellaland and Goshen, barring the northward progress of British expansion. The Rev. John Mackenzie, the leading missionary to the Bechuanas, protested strongly on their behalf in 1884, and persuaded the home Government to intervene. The Transvaal agreed

to abandon any claim to Bechuanaland, and the country was declared a British protectorate up to latitude 22° south, thus including all the land immediately to the west of the Transvaal. Mackenzie was sent as the British Commissioner. The Boer adventurers took no notice of him, and harried the Bechuanas so that Montsioa, of Mafeking, asked for the protection of the Transvaal. The home Government then sent out Sir Charles Warren, with 4,000 men, to expel the Boers. Bechuanaland south of the Molopo River, including Mafeking, was made a Crown colony in 1885, and annexed to the Cape ten years later. Northern Bechuanaland remained a protectorate, which was extended to the Zambesi in 1890. The native chiefs in this immense region retain their authority under British supervision. Khama, the most important of them, has been a great civilizing force in the interior, by encouraging missions and forbidding strong drink.

Rhodesia.

To the north of the Transvaal, Lobengula, son of the Moselikatse whom the Boers had defeated half a century before (p. 259), was ruling the Matabele, who kept the Mashona, the older inhabitants, in subjection. Prospectors entered Lobengula's country in 1887, soon after the Rand mines had been opened, and reported it to be rich in gold. In 1888 it was proclaimed as British, to prevent the Transvaal or any other Power from interfering. Cecil Rhodes determined to secure and develop the land of the Matabele and Mashona. A party, led by Dr. Jameson, obtained from Lobengula on behalf of Rhodes the exclusive right to mine for gold. In 1889 the British South Africa Company was established, under a royal

charter like that of the East India Company, to administer the country. Its sphere of influence was extended across the Zambesi to the Congo State border in 1891, and the whole region was called Rhodesia, after the founder of the Company, from 1895.

Matabele Wars.

The Company, finding Lobengula reluctant to admit white miners, despatched Dr. Jameson with an armed force in 1890 to occupy Mashonaland, lying between the central Matoppo Range and the Portuguese frontier. Forts Tuli, Victoria, and Charter, were established on the way to Salisbury, in the north-east corner, which was made the capital, and soon became a mining centre. Lobengula had been taken by surprise, and did nothing for the moment. But when he found that his Mashona subjects no longer obeyed him, he asserted his right to punish them. The Company protested, and then declared war. A force of 700 men, under Major Forbes, defeated two Matabele armies, and captured Lobengula's capital, Bulawayo, in 1893. Two white traders remained there safe, but the King had fled to the north. He sent an offer to surrender, but the message, with a present of money, was stolen by two dishonest troopers. A small party, under Major Wilson, rashly pursued the King, but was cut off and destroyed on the Shangani River. Lobengula died soon afterwards in an obscure retreat. The Matabele were beaten, but not subdued. In 1896, when the Company's forces had been weakened by the Jameson Raid, the Matabele revolted, and killed many settlers. But after six months' fighting they agreed to make peace with Cecil Rhodes, who went as an un-

armed envoy to their stronghold in the Matoppos. Since then Rhodesia has been free from native troubles.

The Cape to Cairo Railway.

Cape Colony, at the instance of Cecil Rhodes, was prompt to extend her railways to the new protectorates. The Kimberley line was carried to Vryburg and Mafeking. Thence the Bechuanaland Railway Company continued the line to Bulawayo by 1897, while Salisbury was connected with the Portuguese port of Beira, and Bulawayo with Salisbury. Rhodes now advocated the continuation of the main line right through the heart of Africa by way of the Great Lakes to the Nile Valley. His "Cape to Cairo" scheme excited much interest, but gained no support from the home Government. He therefore began to carry it out by means of the Rhodesia Railways Company, in which he was interested. Before he died in 1902, the main line from Bulawayo north-west through the Wankie coal-field to the Victoria Falls was partly built. The railway reached the river in 1904, and, crossing it by a mighty bridge, was carried on through Livingstone, capital of North-Western Rhodesia, to Broken Hill in 1906. It has now been completed to the Congo State frontier, over 2,100 miles from Cape Town. Projected railways in the Congo State may in the near future connect Rhodesia with the Upper Nile Valley, and thus realize Cecil Rhodes's dream. The line already constructed has made it possible for mining companies to work gold, copper, coal, and other minerals, in regions that until a few years ago were almost inaccessible. Tobacco, cotton, grain, rubber, and other products, are cultivated in

Rhodesia, and cattle are bred in large numbers, finding a ready market on the Rand.

Rhodesian Government.

The territories of the British South Africa Company are now divided into three sections. Southern Rhodesia includes Lobengula's former dominions. It is governed by the Company's Administrator, under the eye of a British Commissioner, who commands the troops; an Executive Council of four, named by the Company with the approval of the Crown; and a Legislative Council of six nominees of the Company and seven elected members. There are about 14,000 white people to 700,000 natives. North-West Rhodesia includes Barotseland, with the Zambesi as its frontier to the south, and the Congo watershed as its northern limit. North-East Rhodesia is the region between Lake Tanganyika on the north, Portuguese Zambesia on the south, Nyasaland on the east, and the Congo State on the west, and was formerly styled British Central Africa. Both these sections, in which there are a few hundred whites and a million natives, are governed for the Company by Administrators.

Nyasaland.

The British Nyasaland Protectorate is now so closely connected with Rhodesia that it may be briefly noticed here. It includes the Shiré Valley and Highlands south of Lake Nyasa, and the northern shores of the lake. It was first explored by Livingstone between the years 1853 and 1873, when he died at Chitambo, in what is now North-East Rhodesia. He helped the Universities Mission in a first attempt to settle in the Shiré Highlands in 1861. The attempt was renewed by Scottish missionaries, who founded Blantyre in 1876.

Traders followed them, especially the African Lakes Company, whose chairman, James Stevenson, made a road, called by his name, from Lake Nyasa to Tanganyika. Planters settled in the Shiré Highlands, to grow coffee. The company was much troubled, first by Arab slave-traders, and then by the jealous Portuguese who claimed the country. In 1891 the territory was formally declared a British protectorate. The first Commissioner, Sir Harry Johnston, had several years of fighting against the slave-traders before he succeeded in restoring order. The Nyasaland Protectorate is not quite so large as England, and has about 600 white inhabitants to a million natives. It produces large quantities of coffee, tobacco, and cotton, and, now that a railway has been made from Port Herald through the unhealthy Shiré Valley up to Blantyre, the trade of Nyasaland will doubtless increase.

CHAPTER VIII

WAR AND UNION

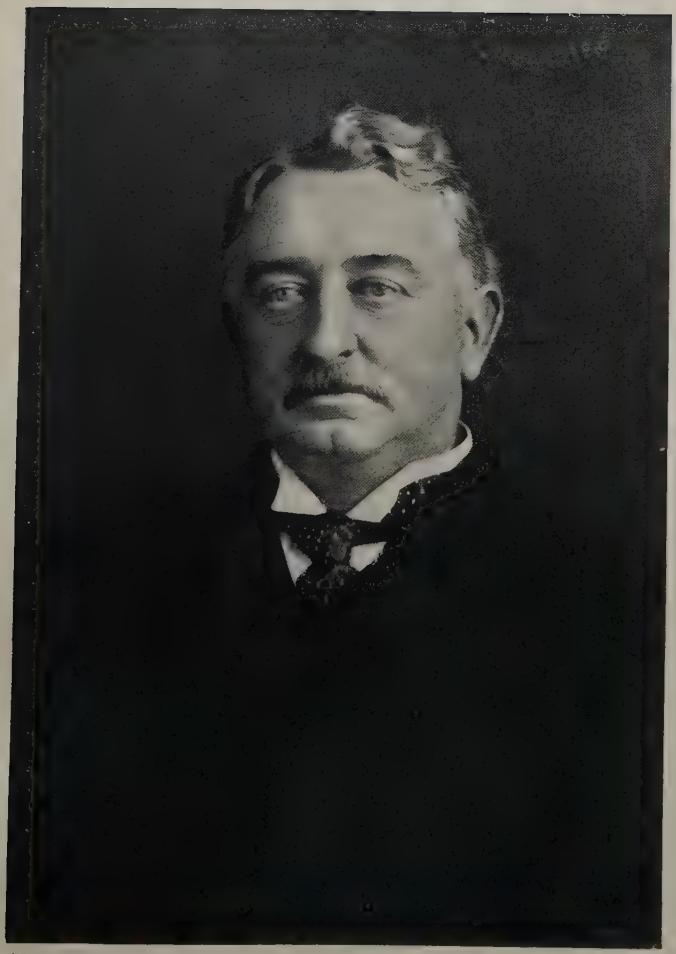
Briton and Boer.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, Great Britain was the only Power in South Africa, save for the small Portuguese colony of Mozambique, and the Governor of Cape Colony controlled all the white settlers. In the second half of the century the country was parcelled out into two colonies, several protectorates, and two Boer republics. The problem was to reunite them. It might have been solved peacefully in course of

time, but events ruled otherwise. The annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 and the successful Boer revolt in 1881 roused ill-will between the British and the Boer races. The endeavours of Paul Kruger, on the one hand, to sever the Transvaal from the rest of South Africa, and the schemes of Cecil Rhodes, on the other hand, for rapidly colonizing all the unoccupied interior, so that the Boer republics were enclosed in British territory, confirmed this distrust. The appearance of Germany in South-West Africa, which she annexed in 1885, also alarmed the British party. The gold-discoveries on the Rand, which brought a large foreign population under Boer government, and furnished the Transvaal with the sinews of war in case of differences, made the question of union more urgent. The Jameson Raid irritated both sides. The Boers now felt that they would have to fight for their independence, while the British were persuaded that they must conquer the Boers by force. Each race aimed at uniting South Africa, either as an independent federal republic or as a British colony.

Outbreak of War.

In 1899 the quarrel came to a head. Sir Alfred Milner, Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner, found it necessary to intervene in Transvaal politics. He had a conference with President Kruger in June, to secure better treatment for the "uitlanders," many of whom were British subjects. But the President refused to give them the franchise on easier terms, unless Great Britain abandoned her suzerainty over the South African Republic. Sir Alfred Milner reported on the conference in despatches which showed that he despaired of



Photo, W. & D. Downey.

CECIL RHODES.

To face page 278.

settling the dispute without war. The Transvaal was preparing for the struggle, and the Orange Free State, though on good terms with the colonies, declared that it would support the other Boer republic. British troops were despatched to South Africa, and stationed on the frontiers. On October 9, 1899, the Transvaal sent out an ultimatum, proposing arbitration on conditions that Great Britain contended were impossible, and demanding that the British reinforcements should be sent home. The terms were refused, and war was begun on October 11 by both the Transvaal and the Free State.

British Reverses

At first the Boers had it all their own way. They were stronger in numbers and more expert in warfare than had been expected. By the end of October they had shut up the Natal garrison, under Sir George White, in Ladysmith, despite British successes at Talana Hill and Elandslaagte ; and they were blockading British forces in Kimberley and Mafeking. For the moment the colonies were defenceless. In November General Buller arrived in Cape Town, and the British troops coming from oversea were divided into three armies—one, under Lord Methuen, to relieve Kimberley ; another, under General Gatacre, to expel the Free State invaders from Cape Colony ; and a third to relieve Ladysmith. Each of these armies failed in December. Lord Methuen, after three sharp actions, crossed the Modder River, but was repulsed from General Cronje's entrenched position at Magersfontein (December 11) with heavy loss. The day before, General Gatacre had been beaten at Stormberg, in Northern Cape Colony. Four days later the

Natal army, under General Buller, was defeated at Colenso, in attempting to cross the Tugela. In a second attempt, in January, 1900, he crossed the river, but failed at Spion Kop to get through the hills to Ladysmith, and sustained further losses. The swift-moving Boers, with their good shooting and their skill in choosing defensive positions, had won the first round.

British Successes.

The tide soon turned. Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as his Chief of Staff, was promptly sent out to take command, with large reinforcements, especially of mounted men. On February 9, 1900, Lord Roberts, with 35,000 men, invaded the Free State by way of the Modder River, and put himself between General Cronje and Bloemfontein. A large cavalry force, under General French, riding north-west, quickly drove away the Boers besieging Kimberley. Cronje, in retreating eastward, was surrounded at Paardeberg, and, after desperate fighting, was forced to surrender with 4,000 men on February 27. Many of the Boers round Ladysmith were withdrawn to help Cronje, and General Buller, after days of hill-fighting, broke through their weakened lines and relieved Ladysmith on February 28. Lord Roberts now marched eastward, and occupied Bloemfontein on March 13. Three months later, on June 5, he entered Pretoria. Mafeking had been relieved on May 17. Pushing the Boer forces before him, Lord Roberts marched east to the Portuguese frontier, joined on his way by the Natal army, under General Buller. Both the republics were annexed, President Kruger retired to Europe, and the war was thought to be at an

end. Lord Roberts gave up the command to Lord Kitchener.

Guerrilla Warfare.

Unfortunately, the war was destined to last nearly two years longer. The Boers had failed to oppose the large British armies in the field, but under Christian de Wet, Louis Botha, Delarey, and other leaders, they were able to carry on the struggle by attacking small detachments, cutting the railway lines on which the armies depended for food and supplies, and still more by inciting revolt in Cape Colony. Thousands of mounted men were sent to assist Lord Kitchener. To deprive the enemy of food and shelter, he gathered the non-combatants, and the women and children, in concentration camps, and laid waste the country, at the same time defeating De Wet in an attempt to invade Cape Colony (February, 1901). Next, Lord Kitchener proceeded to divide up the country by long fortified lines of blockhouses, which the Boers could not easily cross without being observed. Early in 1902 each of these areas was swept from end to end by a large force, which drove the Boers on to a blockhouse line. After some months of these operations, the Boers became convinced that further resistance was useless, though they still had 18,000 men under arms, against 250,000 British troops. Peace was signed on May 31, 1902. The Boers accepted British rule, and they were promised self-government at an early date.

Peace.

Steps toward Union.

It had now been settled that South Africa was all to be under the British flag. The advantages of union among the colonies soon became apparent. A first step was taken when the Transvaal and

Orange River Colonies established an Intercolonial Council in 1903 to control their railways. A second step was the creation of the South Africa Customs Union in 1906, including the four colonies and Rhodesia, with the native protectorates. The need for a common policy on the native question was emphasized in 1906 by a native rising in Natal, where the white population is very small relatively to the blacks. In 1908 the four colonial Parliaments appointed thirty-three delegates, including the leading British and Boer statesmen of South Africa, to a National Convention, which was to draft a South African Constitution. They sat at Durban, and then at Cape Town, and agreed upon a scheme. This was submitted to the colonial Parliaments early in 1909. The Transvaal accepted it, but the Orange River Colony, Cape Colony, and Natal, proposed amendments, which were considered by the Convention meeting again at Bloemfontein. A compromise satisfactory to all parties was attained, and Cape Colony and the Orange River Colony agreed to the revised Constitution. Natal felt it necessary to take the opinion of the electors, who declared for the Constitution by a very large majority. The Constitution was promptly approved by the British Parliament, in the South Africa Act of 1909, and came into force in May, 1910.

The Union of South Africa.

South Africa, unlike Canada and Australia, has decided for Union, and not for Federation. It was felt that 1,000,000 white people, scattered over vast territories among 4,000,000 black people, would do better if they combined to form a single strong Government, than if they kept up the four existing

Governments and added to them a Federal Government. Thus the four colonies have become provinces of the Union of South Africa, with one Government and one Parliament. The Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Assembly. The Senate contains forty members, sitting for ten years; eight are nominated by the Governor-General (partly for their knowledge of native questions), and eight were elected by each of the expiring colonial Parliaments. The Assembly contains 121 members, elected on the existing franchise; the natives retain their votes in Cape Colony, but receive none elsewhere. Cape Colony has 51 members, Natal 17, the Transvaal 36, and the Orange Free State 17, the smaller provinces being represented more fully than they would be in strict proportion to the numbers of their white electors. Every Member of Parliament must be a British subject of European descent, and is paid a salary. If the two Houses disagree on a Bill, they may hold a joint session, and decide the dispute by a majority of the two Houses voting together. Parliament has power to alter the Constitution, subject to the veto of the Crown, and on condition that existing native voters are not to be disqualified except by the vote of two-thirds of the two Houses sitting together. The Government offices are in Pretoria, Parliament meets at Cape Town, and the Court of Appeal, the highest legal tribunal, will as a rule sit at Bloemfontein. Both English and Dutch are to be the official languages of the Union.

The Provinces.

The Government appoints an Administrator to manage the local affairs of each province, with the

help of an elected Provincial Council and an Executive Committee of four chosen by the Council. The Provincial Councils may make ordinances relating to education, other than higher education, for five years, and to purely local matters; but their measures may be overridden by Acts of the Union Parliament, and may be rejected by the Government. Besides, the Councils cannot spend money without the approval of the Government, which pays what is required for education. That is to say, the provinces are, like British County Councils, strictly subordinate to the central Government, and cannot be compared with the Australian States, or even with the weaker Canadian Provincial Governments.

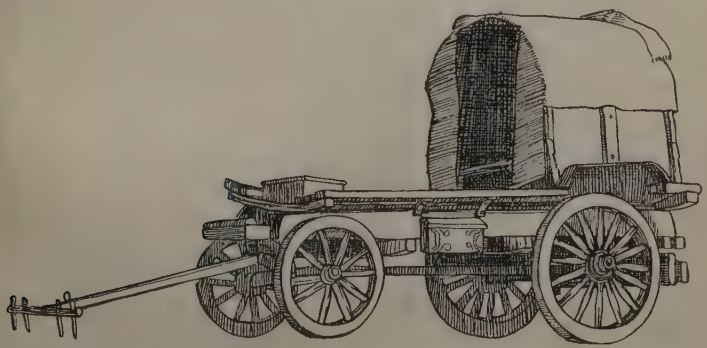
Railways. The Government takes over all the Crown lands, public works, mining rights, and all other properties of the old colonies, and also their public debts. The ports, harbours, and railways, are to be managed by a Board of three paid Commissioners, appointed for five years, with a Minister as chairman. All the port and railway revenues are to be paid to a separate fund, which is to be used for maintaining and improving the services. In this way it is hoped that the railway management, upon which the welfare of South Africa largely depends, will be kept free from political controversy and corruption, as it has been by a similar Board in Australia.

Native Questions. The control of native affairs and of all native reserves in the Union is to rest with the Government. If the Crown in the future transfers the protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, to the Union, these territories will be administered by the Prime Minister, with the advice

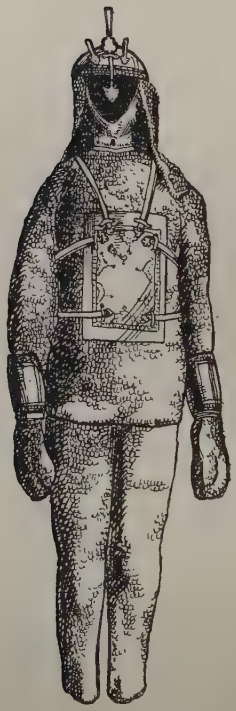
of a permanent Commission of three paid members, who are not to be Members of Parliament, and cannot be removed from office except, like Judges, at the demand of both Houses of Parliament. The natives are not to sell their lands or to buy liquor, and are to retain their tribal assemblies and customs. The main principles adopted by the Imperial administrators in the native territories, with considerable success, are, in short, to be followed by the Union Government.

Rhodesia and the Union.

It is provided in the Constitution that Rhodesia may hereafter be admitted into the Union by an Order in Council, if the Union Parliament desires it. The terms of admission will be fixed when the occasion arises. Meanwhile Rhodesia will profit, like the rest of South Africa, by the completion of a Union, through the efforts of South Africans themselves, which has ended the racial and provincial feuds of the nineteenth century, and made a fourth great self-governing Dominion within the British Empire.



MODEL OF A SOUTH AFRICAN OX-WAGGON.



A SUIT OF SIKH CHAIN ARMOUR.

BOOK III

INDIA, CROWN COLONIES, AND PROTECTORATES

I. THE EMPIRE OF INDIA
II. THE EAST INDIES
III. THE BRITISH WEST INDIES
IV. BRITISH EAST AND WEST AFRICA
V. BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN
VI. THE SEA-LINKS OF THE EMPIRE

I

THE EMPIRE OF INDIA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Position and Area.

THE Empire of India includes the whole of the Indian Peninsula in Southern Asia, with the approaches on either side. It is cut off from the rest of the continent by the massive mountain barriers of the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas, beyond which, to the north, are the high, bare plateaux of the Pamirs and Tibet. On the west, between the outlying Kirthar and Sulaiman Ranges and the sea, the desert of Baluchistan forms a natural frontier towards Persia. On the east, the Himalayas bend southward into the broken hill-country of Burma, with the Mekong Valley as a clearly-marked frontier towards French Indo-China, and lower hills farther south, dividing the upper Malay Peninsula between Burma and Siam. The total area of the Indian Empire, between the mountains and the Indian Ocean, is 1,767,000 square miles, and is thus larger than Europe without Russia. Its population is about 300,000,000, or seven times as great as that of the United Kingdom.

Natural Divisions.

India is naturally divided into four regions: (1) The mountain frontier-land, with a few easy

passes on the north-west, and some that are very toilsome to cross on the north-east; (2) the hill-country of Burma, with dense forests; (3) the low alluvial plains of North Central India, through which the Indus flows south-west, and the Ganges south-east, from the Himalayas to the ocean; and (4) the great tableland of the Deccan, filling almost the whole southern part of the peninsula, which rises steeply from the sea on the west, but is fringed by low plains on the east coast.

The Mountain Frontier.

The north-west frontier is the only weak point in India's natural defences. A tangled mass of hills lies between the Indian Ocean and the Hindu Kush, with two main ranges, called Kirthar and Sulaiman. But several valleys, down which flow four tributaries of the Indus, form natural routes to Afghanistan and Central Asia. The most important of these are the Bolan Pass, on the south, defended by the military station of Quetta, and leading to Kandahar; the Gomal Pass; and on the north the famous Khyber Pass, along the valley of the Khyber River, leading from Kabul to Peshawar at its Indian entrance. North of the Khyber the Hindu Kush forms an almost impassable barrier. This great range is continued eastward in the Karakorams of Kashmir, a mountain region as large as England, with many lofty peaks, of which Mount Godwin-Austen (28,000 feet) is perhaps the highest.

To the south-eastward is the main range of the Himalayas, with a second range of almost equal size running parallel to it farther north. In the depression between these two ranges, the Indus

and the Sutlej, the Ganges and its chief tributary, the Brahmaputra or Sanpo, take their rise. The Himalayas attain their greatest height in Mount Everest (29,000 feet), in the independent mountain State of Nepal.

Burma.

The Brahmaputra, cutting through the Himalayas, forms a natural division between India and Burma, its eastern dependency. The Patkoi and Arakan Ranges, running south from the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal, separate the Brahmaputra Valley on the west from the Irawadi Valley on the east. Forest-clad hills to the eastward form the watershed between the Irawadi and another great but less navigable river, the Salwin, which rises on the plateau of Tibet. Another range divides the Salwin Valley from that of the Mekong, and defends Burma on the east against Tonkin. The fertile valleys of the Irawadi and Salwin, with their adjacent forested slopes, form the province of Burma.

The Indus and Ganges Plains.

Between the northern mountains and the Deccan Tableland are broad plains fertilized by the Indus and Ganges river systems. The Indus and its four tributaries flow from Kashmir south-westward, across the Panjab to the Arabian Sea, with the great port of Karachi on its delta. South of the Indus delta, along the coast, are the low plains of Cutch and Kathiawar. North of these, skirting the middle Indus Valley, is the great desert of Thar, which separates it from the valley of the Ganges. This mighty river flows southward from the Himalayas, and then eastward. Joined by the Jumna at Allahabad, and by the Gogra and Son lower down

at Patna, the Ganges at last bends southward, dividing into many branches—one of which receives the Brahmaputra—and, passing through an immense delta, reaches the Bay of Bengal. The Ganges Valley is the most fertile and populous region of India. On one of the lower estuaries, called the Hugli, stands the modern capital, Calcutta. On the Upper Jumna is the old Moghul capital, Delhi. Midway between Allahabad and Patna is the sacred Hindu city Benares. To the north of the Ganges Valley lies the forest-land of the Terai, on the slopes of the Himalayas; to the south and west is the Deccan Tableland.

The Deccan.

The Deccan Tableland fills almost the whole of Southern India. It is bordered by hill-ranges on the north, west, and south-east, so that almost all the rivers flow eastward. The Aravalli Hills are the most northerly outpost. Between the Vindhya and Satpura Ranges in the north of the Deccan, the Narbada flows across India to the western sea, and the Tapti River, farther south, takes a parallel but shorter course to Surat at its mouth. Most of the other Deccan rivers flow eastward from the Western Ghats, which, with the lesser Nilgiri and Cardamom Ranges, fringe the western coast down to Cape Comorin, and are broken only in three places, opposite Bombay, Goa, and Calicut. These ports became prosperous because they gave access to the only trade-routes over the mountains into the interior. The chief rivers draining into the Bay of Bengal are the Mahanadi, which rises in the central tableland; the Godavari and Kistna, which both rise not far from Bombay, and traverse the whole

breadth of the Deccan ; and, farther south, the Kaveri, which also rises near the west coast, and waters the fertile plains of Southern Madras. Along the south-eastern coast the lowlands are broader than elsewhere. This Coromandel coast, as it is called, was the chief scene of European rivalry in the eighteenth century, round the British port of Madras and the French port of Pondicherry. The peninsula at its southern end is separated by Palk Strait from the island of Ceylon ; the channel is shallow and obstructed by a series of sandy shoals known as Adam's Bridge.

Climate.

The northern plains of India lie without the tropics, while the southern tableland lies within them. This fact accounts for the comparatively uniform climate of the peninsula. The Deccan is not so hot as most tropical countries, because it stands high. On the other hand, the northern plains, being sheltered by the immense mountain barriers to the north, have hotter summers than many other regions in the latitude of Spain and Greece. The prevailing winds in summer, called the "summer monsoon," blow from the south-west in the Arabian Sea, and from the south-east in the Bay of Bengal. They are laden with moisture, and when the winds reach the Western Ghats and the Himalaya slopes, and are forced upward into a colder region of the atmosphere, this moisture is deposited as rain. The west coast of India and Eastern Bengal (including Assam) are thus among the wettest places in the world. The winds, having passed the Ghats, are comparatively dry ; thus, the districts which have no great rivers—as, for example, between the

Indus and the Ganges, and between the Kistna and Kaveri—are to a large extent desert. The fertility of the interior depends mainly on the summer monsoon rains and on artificial irrigation, for only in the extreme north and south can rain be expected in winter.

Crops.

India is almost entirely dependent on the produce of her soil. The crops, of which there are two in the year, and not only one as in Europe, vary according to temperature and rainfall. In North-East and Central India wheat is grown in winter. Millet and cotton are the chief crops in the higher and drier regions of the Deccan, as well as in the Upper Ganges and Indus Valleys. In the tropical river deltas and the low-lying plains of Bengal, rice and jute are cultivated on a large scale. Tea is grown on the moist uplands of Assam, and coffee in the warm hill-country of Mysore. Tobacco, sugar, and indigo, are cultivated in all the plains. Opium is grown in the Middle Ganges Valley and in the north of the Deccan. Oil seeds, such as linseed, are another important crop on the tableland. There seems no limit to the fertility of India if abundant rain falls every summer. When the monsoon fails, the people starve. Much is being done to prevent famine by artificial irrigation works in or near the river valleys, as in the Panjab, but these cannot be made everywhere.

Political Divisions.

The border States of Nepal and Bhutan, in the Himalayas, are independent, like Afghanistan on the north-west frontier. France retains five of her old trading-stations: Chandernagore, near Calcutta; Yanaon, Pondicherry, and Karikal, on

the Coromandel coast ; and Mahé, on the western Malabar coast. Portugal still holds her ancient colony of Goa, south of Bombay, and the two ports, Daman and Diu Island, on either side of the Gulf of Cambay, to the north of Bombay. Apart from these small foreign possessions, India is divided into British provinces and native States. The whole coastline, save in Northern Bombay and the extreme south of Madras, is under direct British control. The chief native States, Mysore and Haidarabad, and the many smaller States of Central India and Rajputana, are all on the Deccan Tableland. Kashmir, isolated in the northern mountains, and Baluchistan on the western border, are exceptions to this rule, with the small State of Manipur in Bengal.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

Aborigines.

THE 300,000,000 inhabitants of India are divided into at least seven physical types. The first type is that of the short black men with flat noses who live in the hills, and who are supposed to represent the earliest dwellers in India. Some of these tribes, such as the Santals, speak languages called Munda. Others, like the Gonds, speak Dravidian languages common in Southern India, which have some resemblance to Finnish and Hungarian. This type is therefore known as Munda-Dravidian. It is best seen in Southern India, which was never so

thoroughly conquered by foreign invaders as the north.

Aryans.

The earliest of these invaders were the Aryans, who from Central Asia spread westward to Europe, southward to Persia, and eastward through the Khyber Pass to India. The Persian Aryans—known as Iranians, from Iran, the old name of Persia—are the ancestors of the Parsis who fled from Mohammedan persecution to Bombay, and form a small but rich community, which is the second physical type in India. The third is that of the Aryans, who entered India and settled in the Panjab, only to be driven farther east by later bands of Aryan invaders.

The Caste System.

The Aryans worshipped the forces of Nature, such as fire and storm, and their priests, or Brahmans, made hymns, a thousand of which, dating from long before the Christian era, have been preserved as the Sanskrit Rig-Vedas, or Songs of Wisdom. The Brahmans, the warriors, and the farmers, formed three distinct classes, with the conquered inhabitants as their slaves. As time went on, the separate classes became fixed castes, with innumerable subdivisions for the various professions and trades. A man could not, and cannot, marry a woman of any other caste but his own. This caste system was encouraged by the Brahmans, who thus kept the privileges of their ruling caste, and who also preserved the race from losing its old character by mingling with the Dravidians.

Mixed Races.

Nevertheless, many Aryans married aborigines, and their descendants are of the fourth type, called Aryo-Dravidian. Such people are found in Agra

and Oudh, Behar and Rajputana. Farther east there is another mixed race, descended from yellow Mongol invaders, who came from the east and married Dravidian women. These form the fifth type, called Mongol-Dravidian, which is yellowest in Burma, Assam, and Nepal, and blackest in Orissa. Yet another invading race was that of the fair Scythians from Central Asia, nomad tribes who settled in Western India early in the Christian era, and were the ancestors of the Scytho-Dravidians, the sixth type. Lastly, on the north-west frontier, the Afghans and Baluchis represent the seventh type, called Turko-Iranian, and descended from Persian and Turki ancestors.

Languages.

India thus contains many different races, and most of these speak different tongues. Of the 147 languages spoken, the best known is Hindustani or Urdu, the common language used by the Mohammedans ; it is made up from the native Hindi grammar and the Arabic and Persian vocabulary of the original Mohammedan invaders. The old Dravidian languages, such as Telugu, Tamil, and Kanarese, are spoken in the south. A score of Aryan languages prevail in the north ; notably, there are two forms of Hindi in the United Provinces, Panjabi in the Panjab, Bengali and Behari in Bengal. Farther east, Mongol languages akin to Chinese are spoken, especially in Burma and the Shan States.

Religions.

India, the land of many races and languages, is also the home of many religions, the most widespread of which is Hinduism. Mohammedanism was introduced by the Arab invaders in the eighth century, was spread by the Moghul Emperors who

ruled from 1526, and is now professed by a fifth of the population; it is attractive to many persons because it knows nothing of caste. The Parsis of Bombay practise the religion of Zoroaster or Zarathustra, worshipping the sun and fire as symbols of the deity. The Sikhs—or disciples—of the Panjab follow the creed of ten Sikh apostles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who reformed Hinduism by worshipping one God, abolishing caste, and denying the authority of the Brahmans. Christianity has been introduced by many missions from the West, and has about 3,000,000 disciples.

Hinduism.

The Brahmans or priests of the Aryans developed the Hindu religion in very early times. Their chief gods were Brahma, the origin of being; Vishnu, the preserver of the universe; and Siva, the destroyer. In the sixth century before Christ two new forms of religion were produced. Mahavira founded Jainism, the principles of which are moderation, righteous living, and kindness to animals. A man who carried out these principles was a "Jina," or conqueror. A more popular creed was that of Buddhism, founded by Buddha, who was born in the Province of Agra in 563 B.C., and died in 483 B.C. He founded a great order of begging monks and women to spread his doctrine that salvation comes only by right living. Two centuries after his death, the Emperor Asoka adopted Buddhism as the State religion, and caused it to be accepted all over Northern and Central India. Later, Buddhism became corrupted, and Buddha himself was worshipped as a god among other deities.

The invading Mohammedans persecuted Buddhists, and the Brahmans improved their creed by borrowing the good parts of the Buddhist teaching. Hence Buddhism declined as rapidly as it had arisen in India, and is now professed only by about 10,000,000 people, especially in Nepal and Burma, though it is still dominant in Eastern Asia. The reformed Brahmanism again became the ruling faith of India, and seven out of every ten natives of the Empire accept the authority of the Brahmans and the caste system.

CHAPTER III

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Portuguese Pioneers.

THE first European to conquer part of India was Alexander the Great, who in 327 B.C. invaded the Panjab by way of the Khyber Pass, defeated its King, Porus, on the Jehlam River, and founded a Macedonian kingdom, which soon after his death was destroyed. But the first modern Europeans who reached India, after the long interval since Alexander's time, were the Portuguese. Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, and Vasco da Gama, following the new sea-route, reached Calicut in 1498, where he was welcomed by the native ruler. Thus began the rich trade of Portugal with India and the Far East. When Spain had annexed Portugal in 1580, the Dutch merchant sailors captured most of Portugal's spice trade; and the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 encouraged

Englishmen to seek their share of the "golden East."

The East India Company.

A hundred London merchants formed the East India Company, which on December 31, 1600, received a charter from Queen Elizabeth. Like the Levant Company and other earlier companies formed to promote foreign trade, the new Company acquired a monopoly, having by its charter the sole right to trade to the East, with power to make peace or war with any non-Christian people, and to govern its own servants. Its early efforts were directed, not to India, but to the Malay Archipelago, whither James Lancaster sailed with the Company's first expedition in 1601, bringing home a cargo of pepper. The Portuguese could not keep out the English merchants from the rich trade of the Spice Islands, but the Dutch East India Company, formed in 1602, proved to be more dangerous rivals. The Dutch gradually captured most of the Portuguese colonies, and asserted a monopoly which the English traders, after the "massacre" of twelve Englishmen at Amboyna in 1623, did not try to break down. It was the lack of success in the Far East which led the English Company to turn its attention to India, and to be content with what was at that time the far less profitable Indian trade. Its first expedition to the mainland was led by William Hawkins, who reached Surat in 1607. The Portuguese persuaded Jahangir, the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, not to encourage the English. But when Thomas Best, with one of the company's ships, in 1612, beat off a whole Portuguese fleet, Jahangir quickly saw the advantage of friendship with the new sea-power, and

allowed the Company to set up a "factory," or warehouse, at Surat. His successor, Shah Jehan, let the English trade throughout his empire.

Beginnings of Empire.

The Surat factory was the germ of our vast Indian trade. But the first piece of territory which England owned in India was the site of Madras, on which Fort St. George was founded in 1639. The second was the island of Bombay, which Charles II. received from Portugal in 1661 as part of the dowry of his Portuguese bride, Catherine of Braganza, and gave to the Company in 1668. The third was Fort William, in Lower Bengal. This was built in 1698 on a site granted by the Emperor Aurangzib, beside a settlement which Governor Job Charnock had made in 1686, and which became the modern Calcutta. The East India Company was thus by 1700 firmly planted in the south, west, and east of India. The Portuguese had ceased to play an active part, and the Dutch, now closely allied to the English, were content with their colonies farther east. The only rivals whom the Company now had to fear were the French, who had settled at Pondicherry, south of Madras, and at Chandernagore, near Calcutta, in 1674-75, and were eager to extend their power.

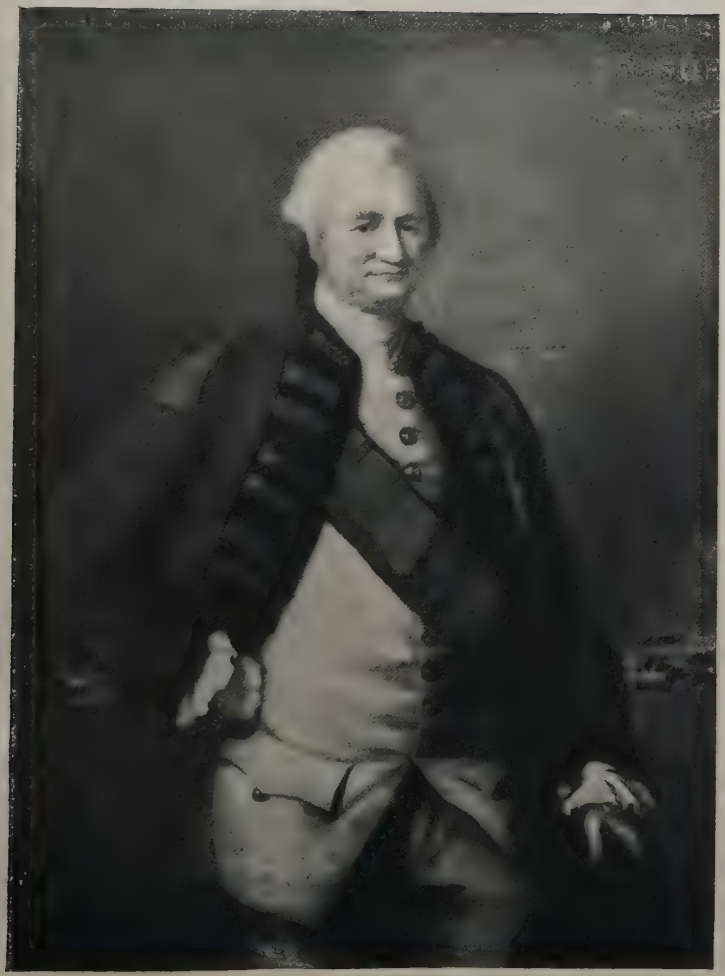
Dupleix and Clive.

In the eighteenth century the Moghul empire fell to pieces. The warlike Marathas ravaged the Deccan, the great Viceroys of Bengal and Oudh acted as independent rulers, while in the north the Sikhs of the Panjab ceased to acknowledge the Moghul supremacy. In the confusion, both the British and French saw the chance of increasing their hold over India. Dupleix, the French

Governor, who had married an Indian lady, was the readier to profit by the unrest. He offered assistance to the Moghul rulers of the Deccan and Carnatic, and in return was made a Nawab, or Viceroy. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out between Great Britain and France, Dupleix, with French and native troops, contrived to capture Madras in 1746. The fort was restored at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, but Dupleix went on with his schemes for maintaining rulers friendly to France in the south of India, and secured a grant of a large province on the east coast. As this step threatened ruin to Madras, Robert Clive, who was then Governor, raised a small army, and in 1751 captured Arcot, the capital of the Nawab of the Carnatic, who favoured the French. Clive beat off the attacks of the French and the natives, and then defeated them in several battles. By 1754 the French East India Company was tired of a costly war; it recalled Dupleix, and agreed to make no more alliances with native Princes.

The Seven Years' War.

When Great Britain and France declared war on each other in 1756, the struggle was renewed in India. Lally, Baron de Tollendal, Governor of Pondicherry, besieged Madras, but could not take it because the French fleet gave him no help in cutting off the garrison's supplies. When the English fleet arrived in 1759, Lally had to retire. He was defeated at Wandewash the next year by Sir Eyre Coote, and Pondicherry surrendered. The British had already captured the French settlements farther north. When peace was made in 1763, the French towns were given back to them,



ROBERT LORD CLIVE.

From the picture by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery.

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on condition that they were not to be fortified. The power of the French East India Company was thus broken for ever.

Meanwhile Clive had been forced to begin the conquest of Bengal. In June, 1756, Surajah Dowlah, Viceroy of Bengal, had captured Fort William, and confined 146 prisoners, almost the whole of the little garrison, in a small room, eighteen feet square, with a single window. In this "Black Hole" all but twenty-three of them died in a night. Clive, who was at Madras, hastened north to avenge this horrible cruelty. With a small force he recaptured Calcutta and drove the Viceroy away. In June, 1757, with 5,000 men, he utterly defeated Surajah Dowlah's army of ten times as many at Plassey. This great victory gave the East India Company the government of Lower Bengal. Surajah Dowlah was deposed, and succeeded by a nominee of Clive's. In 1764, during Clive's absence from India, a new Viceroy of Bengal quarrelled with the Company, and allied himself with the Moghul Emperor and with the Viceroy of Oudh. Their united forces were overthrown at Buxar by Hector Munro, the Emperor was taken, and both Upper Bengal and Oudh were occupied by the British. Clive, on his last visit to India (1765-1767), gave back Oudh to its ruler, and formed a new province round Allahabad for the Emperor. In return he obtained from the Emperor a grant of the right to collect the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, valued at £2,000,000 a year. The native Viceroy retired, but a native Prime Minister carried on the government for the Company. Clive had thus not only

The British in Bengal.

destroyed the French power in India, but had secured for his employers the richest province in the peninsula. Nominally, the Company was a vassal of the Moghul Emperor. In fact, it was an independent Sovereign, respected and feared by all the other Princes of India.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPANY UNDER STATE CONTROL

Warren Hastings.

THE power which Clive had won in India was organized and maintained by Warren Hastings, who became Governor of Bengal in 1772. He replaced the higher native officials by British administrators, called Collectors, because their first duty was for a time to collect the revenue. He reduced the old taxes on trade, which had almost ruined honest merchants, and he checked the extortion practised by the zamindars, or native rent-collectors, who became hereditary landlords. He set up British law-courts in each district to check corruption and crime.

On the western frontier, Hastings took measures to defend the neighbouring province of Oudh against the warlike Marathas from the Deccan. The Marathas had forced the Emperor to ally himself with them and grant them the Allahabad Province, which he had received from Clive. Hastings, however, drove them away, and gave back Allahabad to Oudh, of which it had formed part. He was also compelled, as an ally of Oudh, to assist in conquering the Rohillas, an Afghan people who had settled in the

The Rohillas.

district between the Ganges and the Himalayas, to the north-west of Oudh. The Rohillas had been saved by the Viceroy of Oudh from complete destruction at the hands of the Marathas, but had afterwards declined to pay the expenses of the war. They were also suspected of an alliance with their old enemies. In 1774 the Viceroy of Oudh resolved to occupy the Rohilla country, and demanded British help—at a price—which the company were bound by treaty to give. The Rohillas were conquered, and, as Hastings said, the whole Country north of the Ganges was brought under British influence. Hastings was severely blamed by his critics for helping the Viceroy of Oudh to destroy the harmless Rohillas for the sake of the money promised by the Viceroy, but the charge was untrue.

State Intervention.

Meanwhile the British Government had begun to exercise some control over the East India Company, which was no longer a mere trading concern, but had become a great territorial power. The Company had to borrow a large sum from the State in 1773, and in return was obliged to accept State intervention in its affairs by Lord North's Regulating Act. Warren Hastings was appointed by Parliament to be Governor-General of Bengal for five years, with a Council of four members. He was to report to the directors of the Company, but the Secretary of State was to see all his correspondence. Further, Parliament set up a Supreme Court in Calcutta, headed by Chief Justice Elijah Impey, to which the Company and all its officials were subject. The Governors of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to be subordinate to Bengal.

The Marathas.

The main task of Hastings during his governor-generalship (1774-1785) was to defend the Company's possessions against the two strongest native powers—the Hindu Marathas and the Mohammedan Sultan of Mysore—who received help from the French during the American War (1778-1783). The Marathas were a confederacy of warlike Princes, headed by the Peshwa of Poona, and including Sindia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur, and the Gaekwar of Baroda, who kept the whole Deccan and Rajputana in a state of terror. The Bombay Council picked a quarrel with them by supporting a claimant to the throne of Poona, and seizing Salsette Island and the port of Bassein. Hastings disapproved of interference with the powerful Marathas ; but when the war had begun he continued it, and by the success of the Bengal army persuaded Sindia to make peace in 1782.

Mysore.

Haidar Ali of Mysore feared the rise of the British power, and had been angered by the Company's refusal to help him against the Marathas. The seizure of the French port of Mahé by the British, who marched through Mysore territory, led him to declare war in 1780. Haidar Ali ravaged the Carnatic, besieged Madras, and was with difficulty beaten by the veteran Sir Eyre Coote at Porto Novo in 1781. A strong French fleet under Suffren tried to co-operate with him, but was repeatedly driven back by Hughes in 1782. Haidar Ali died in that year, and Tippu, his son, soon made peace.

Hastings in Bengal.

During these long years of war Hastings had to raise money in Bengal to pay the troops. He forced the Raja of Benares to pay a large sum, although

the city revolted. He compelled the Begums, or Princesses, of Oudh to give up part of the royal treasure which they had seized. For these and other acts Hastings was denounced in the British Parliament by Burke and others as a tyrant ; after he returned home, he was impeached, and had to stand a seven years' trial before the House of Lords, which in the end acquitted him. But he had saved British India as it then was, and had foiled all the efforts of the French and of the hostile native Princes to destroy the Company's power.

State Control.

But it was now obvious that the British Government must take more of the responsibility for ruling India. Pitt therefore, in 1784, passed his India Act, which placed the whole administration in the hands of a Board of Control, appointed by the Crown ; the Company did not lose its rights, but had to follow the instructions of the Board. The Governor-General was given full powers over Madras and Bombay, as well as Bengal, and, unlike Hastings, he could, if necessary, act without the consent of his Council. He was not to interfere with the native States unless the Company approved, but in practice he did not and could not wait for their sanction. Henceforth the British Government ruled India in the Company's name.

Lord Wellesley.

Lord Cornwallis, the first Governor-General under the new order, tried to keep out of war, though he had to fight Mysore and annex half of it. But his successor, Lord Wellesley (1798-1805), was resolved to make the British power felt. Revolutionary France was again intriguing with the Marathas and Mysore, both of which powers employed French

mercenaries. Sindia, the strongest Maratha chief, had seized Delhi, and called himself Viceregent of the Moghul Empire. The Marathas had forced the Mohammedan Nizam of Haidarabad to become their ally. Mysore was openly hostile. Wellesley struck quickly and struck hard, helped by his famous brother Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. Mysore was conquered, with the help of the Nizam, in 1799, and Tippu—Citizen Tippu, as the French called him—was killed in the final siege of his capital, Seringapatam. The whole of the Carnatic coast was now annexed.

The Marathas subdued.

Next, the Peshwa of Poona was constrained to accept a British protectorate and to cede the coast lands by the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. Sindia and the Raja of Nagpur resented this menace to Maratha independence. But their well-trained mercenaries could not face British troops. Arthur Wellesley defeated Sindia at Assaye in the Deccan, not far from Bombay, and Lake beat him at Laswari, near Agra. These battles were decisive. Sindia ceded not only a strip of the west coast, but also Delhi and the privilege of protecting the feeble Moghul Emperor, a ruler only in name. Nagpur handed over the Orissa coast. Holkar, who now declared war, was not so quickly beaten. But when Lord Wellesley left India he had secured for the Company the whole coastline from Bengal round Cape Comorin to Bombay and Surat. The Maratha powers had all agreed to become allies of the Company, and to cede territories, out of the revenues of which the Governor-General could pay troops to keep order in their States. The Moghul Emperor

became a pensioner on the bounty of the Company, which had taken the proud position once held in India by his great predecessor Aurangzib.

Central India pacified.

The Sikhs of the Panjab had now become a powerful military State under Ranjit Singh, but they prudently kept the peace with the British, on condition that Sikh forces should not cross the Sutlej. It remained for Wellesley's successors to pacify Central India, which was kept in a state of anarchy by roving bands of freebooters, mostly adventurers and ex-soldiers from the disbanded Maratha armies. These Pindaris, as they were called, were gradually hemmed in and hunted down by British and native forces between 1816 and 1818. The Peshwa, who thought to profit by the confusion, rebelled, and was deposed. The Raja of Nagpur and Holkar, who joined him, were quickly subdued. The Rajput chiefs, hitherto subject to Holkar, were brought under British protection. Every native State was now required to keep a British Resident to supervise its government, and India south of the Sutlej was at peace for the first time in many generations.

Frontier Troubles.

But the limits of Empire were not yet reached. Under Lord Hastings in 1814-1816 the warlike Gurkhas of Nepal had invaded Oudh, and drawn upon themselves a British attack, as the result of which they had to cede part of their territory, while retaining complete independence in the remainder. Next, it was the turn of the Burmese, who were in the habit of making raids into Lower Bengal and Assam, and forced the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, to declare war, invade Burma by sea, and annex the coast provinces round the Irawadi delta, with the

valuable port of Rangoon, as well as Assam on the Bengal side of the mountain frontier (1824-1826). A quarter of a century later the Burmese provoked another war, and lost the remainder of their coast-line, the province of Pegu.

The First Afghan War.

The Indian Government next had its attention directed to the north-west frontier, beyond the independent States of Sind and the Panjab, where Afghanistan was threatened by the Shah of Persia, with the connivance of Russia, whose forces were gradually advancing across Central Asia. Russian designs on India had first been suspected during the Napoleonic wars, but from this time (1837) onward became a source of keen anxiety. The Shah was induced to give up the siege of Herat by the appearance of a British squadron in the Persian Gulf. But it was thought necessary to send a British army into Afghanistan, across Sind, to depose the unfriendly Amir, Dost Mohammed, and put an ex-Amir, Shah Shuja, in his place in 1839. The army stayed too long at Kabul, until in 1841 the Afghans rose, murdered the British envoys, and compelled the force to undertake a disastrous and ill-managed retreat in mid-winter, which resulted in its total destruction at the hands of the tribes. A single man, Dr. Brydon, escaped to Jalalabad. Next year Pollock, with a strong force, invaded Afghanistan to take vengeance and to rescue the captives, but he then retired, leaving Dost Mohammed on the throne.

Sind and the Panjab.

The Afghan War had shown the necessity of establishing British control over the frontier States of Sind and the Panjab. Sind had refused to help the British relief force under Pollock. It was therefore

invaded by Napier in 1843, and the decisive battle of Miani made it a British province. The mouths of the Indus and the port of Karachi were thus acquired, and the whole coast of India was now under British rule. The conquest of the Sikhs was a far more difficult task. Ranjit Singh, who died in 1839, had left a disciplined army 30,000 strong, with many foreign officers, and this army was eager to measure swords with the British. War broke out in 1845, when the Sikhs, in defiance of the old treaty, threw troops across the Sutlej. Sir Hugh Gough met and defeated them at Mudki (December 18, 1845), and again, three days later, at Firozshah, where the British lost 2,000 men in storming the Sikh lines. Still the Sikhs were undismayed. A month later Sir Harry Smith defeated them at Aliwal, and then, joining Gough, stormed the Sikh camp at Sobraon (February 10, 1846). Never had the British encountered so resolute an enemy in India.

The Sikh Wars.

But the Sikhs now agreed to make peace. They ceded some territory, and accepted Henry Lawrence as British Resident at Lahore, where the infant Dhulip Singh, son of Ranjit, was recognized as Maharaja. Two years later the Sikhs revolted, and again Gough had to fight several desperate battles. At Chilianwalla (January, 1849) the British force suffered heavily, but a few weeks later Gough destroyed the Sikh army at Gujrat, and completed the conquest. The Panjab was annexed, and Dhulip Singh was sent to England, where he spent the rest of his life. Henry and John Lawrence converted the Panjab into a loyal and orderly province.

Native States absorbed.

Lord Dalhousie, who was Governor-General from 1848 to 1856, was resolved to bring as many native States as possible under direct British rule. If a ruler left no heirs, his State was annexed at his death. The Hindu custom of adopting an heir was not recognized by Dalhousie. Among the States that thus "lapsed" to the Company were Nagpur (now part of the Central Provinces), Satara, and Jhansi. Oudh was annexed in 1856, because of the Nawab's misconduct, and thorough reforms were made in the land system. The effect of this policy was to make numerous enemies for the British. The adopted heirs, among whom was Nana Sahib, who claimed succession to the Peshwa, felt their grievance keenly. The landlords in Oudh resented the loss of their old privileges and revenues.

The Mutiny.

Under Lord Canning, Dalhousie's successor (1856-1862), the discontent came to a head. The native army, five times as numerous as the British garrison, was largely recruited from the landowning class in Oudh, and shared the dislike of that class for the annexation. The sepoys, or native soldiers, were also aggrieved at a new order requiring them, if need arose, to serve oversea, though many of them were forbidden by their caste to cross the water. They were fired to revolt by a rumour that the cartridges of the new Enfield rifle, with which they were armed in 1857, were greased with the fat of the sacred cow and the unclean pig—offensive to Hindu and Mohammedan religious prejudices. The cartridges were withdrawn, but nothing could pacify the Bengal army, which, excited by Mohammedan and Brahman agitators, broke out into mutiny.

The mutiny began at Meerut, north-east of Delhi, on May 10, 1857. The sepoy regiments killed their British officers, and marched to Delhi to proclaim the old Moghul Emperor lord of India. Many other native garrisons in North and Central India quickly followed the example of Meerut. In Oudh the people joined the mutinous sepoys, and besieged the British garrisons at Lucknow, under Henry Lawrence, and at Cawnpur. Lucknow held out. But Cawnpur, attacked by Nana Sahib, had to surrender, and the British troops, with their women and children, were brutally massacred. A deposed Princess, the Rani of Jhansi, and Tantia Topi raised the disaffected Marathas. For a moment the British hold over India seemed to be fatally weakened.

The Revolt in Oudh.

It was only for a moment. The revolt proved to be local, and not general. The native troops in Bombay and Madras remained faithful. The great Maratha Princes adhered to the British connection, though many of their troops joined the rebels. The Sikhs of the Panjab, though so lately conquered, not only remained quiet under the wise rule of John Lawrence, but many enlisted in the British service, and went to fight against the mutineers at Delhi. The British garrisons in Lower Bengal kept the country quiet, and the capital was safe. Troops were pushed forward to the relief of Lucknow, which General Havelock reached in September. A stronger force under Sir Colin Campbell followed, and, after sharp fighting, was able to rescue the brave Lucknow garrison in November. Delhi had been captured by the British Panjab army in September, and the

The Mutiny repressed

old Moghul Emperor was taken. While Campbell was crushing resistance in Oudh, Sir Hugh Rose marched from Bombay into the Maratha country, and, by taking Jhansi and Gwalior, put an end to the rebellion. By June, 1858, the mutiny and rebellion had been stamped out.

The End of the Company.

It was now felt that the old East India Company must cease to exist. The task of ruling India was too great and difficult to be shared between the Crown and any private institution; although the Company had for many years exercised little real power, and had been deprived of its trade monopoly, its rights of interference were troublesome in times of danger such as the Mutiny year. Therefore, by the India Act of 1858, the Company and the Board of Control were abolished. The Government of India was transferred to a Secretary of State for India, with a council of advisers at home, and a Viceroy in India exercising supreme control over all the provinces. Lord Canning was the first Viceroy, and proclaimed Queen Victoria as ruler of India, in a great durbar, or assembly, at Allahabad on November 1, 1858.

CHAPTER V

MODERN INDIA

The Native States.

A HALF-CENTURY of direct British rule has worked many changes in India. The first consequence of the Mutiny was a reversal of Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexing as many native States as possible.

QUEEN VICTORIA PROCLAIMED EMPRESS OF INDIA, DELHI, JANUARY 1, 1877.

By permission, from a picture in the Royal Galleries painted by Val Prinsep, R.A.

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Lord Canning announced that childless rulers would be allowed to adopt heirs, so that the remaining native States would continue to exist in semi-independence. Thus, when the Gaekwar of Baroda, in 1874, tried to poison the British Resident, he was deposed, but a young kinsman was put in his place. When the Raja of Mysore died in 1868, nearly forty years after his State had been put under British rule, his adopted son was allowed to succeed, and, when he came of age, was permitted to govern. Again, in 1891, when a British official was murdered in a revolt in Manipur, the ruler was punished, but the State was not annexed. Thus the ruling native Princes have learned to trust in the British Government as an impartial protector. Mainly with the object of strengthening the position of the Crown, Queen Victoria was proclaimed as Empress of India in 1876, with the consent of Parliament.

The Afghan Troubles.

India proper has remained at peace, but the north-west frontier became, and has continued to be, a source of anxiety. When Russia began to conquer Turkestan, it was feared that she would go on to annex Afghanistan also. Lord Lytton, Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, asked the Amir Shir Ali to receive a British Envoy at Kabul. He had received a Russian agent, but refused to welcome any British official. Thereupon Great Britain declared war upon him. The British army occupied Kabul in 1878, and drove Shir Ali into exile. His son and successor, Yakub Khan, made the Treaty of Gandamak, ceding the territory between the Indus Valley and the chief passes, and agreeing that a British Envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, should

reside in his capital. But no sooner had the army retired than the Afghans rose and murdered Cavagnari. Again the British invaded the country, occupied Kabul in 1879, and deposed the new Amir. His cousin Abdurrahman was now placed on the throne. Before the troops could retire, a rival claimant, Ayub Khan, brother of Yakub, defeated a British column under Burrows at Maiwand, and besieged Kandahar. Sir Frederick (afterwards Earl) Roberts hastened to the rescue from Kabul, and drove Ayub away. In a civil war which followed, Abdurrahman defeated his rival, and reigned in peace till his death in 1901.

The North-West Frontier.

Russia agreed in 1885 to mark off the frontier between her newly conquered possessions and Afghanistan, but an affray between Russian and Afghan troops at Penjdeh nearly caused a Russo-British war. The Indian Government occupied Baluchistan, by treaty with the Afghans and the Baluchi chiefs, and thus controlled the country between the sea and Afghanistan up to the Persian border. Quetta, on the frontier, was made a strong garrison to watch the Bolan Pass, just as Peshawar, farther north, defends the mouth of the Khyber Pass. The wild Pathan tribes inhabiting the mountains along the frontier have incessantly disturbed the peace of the frontier districts. By the Durand agreement of 1893, Abdurrahman accepted a line dividing the tribes under nominal British protection from those nominally subject to him. But many expeditions, notably those to Chitral in 1895 and into the Tirah in 1897, have been necessary to keep the mountaineers in check. The North-

West Frontier was made a separate province in 1901, that the work of keeping order might be better done. The maintenance of peace in Afghanistan under Abdurrahman and his son, and the growing friendliness of Russia, have made the task easier. In 1907 Russia formally declared that she would not interfere in Afghanistan or in South-Eastern Persia.

Burma annexed

On the east, save for a brief war with Bhutan in 1864 and the despatch of an expedition to Lhasa in 1904, the Indian Government has only had one serious campaign, which led to the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886. King Theebaw had not only been a cruel tyrant, but was suspected of intriguing with the French in Tonkin. A British force under General Prendergast invaded his dominions, occupied his capital, Mandalay, and captured Theebaw himself. Burma now became a British province, though some years passed before the Burmese robber-bands, known as dacoits, were exterminated. The eastern frontier towards Upper Siam and Tonkin was settled by agreement with France ten years later. The frontiers of India from Siam to Persia are now all fixed by international conventions. Tibet is regarded by Great Britain and Russia as a neutral land with which neither Power will interfere.

The State and the Native.

In recent years the Indian Government has been chiefly occupied in improving the condition of the country and encouraging agriculture and trade. Vast public works, such as railways and canals for irrigation, have been carried out. The peasantry in the irrigated districts are now less dependent than before on the rainfall to water their crops, and the railways can transport food quickly from one part

of the country to another. Thus the severity of the famines, which always occur when the rains fail, has been lessened, and an elaborate system of relief is brought into play as soon as the peasantry in any district are threatened with starvation. A start has been made with the education of the people; though not one person in a hundred can read English as yet, the number of educated natives is steadily growing. With the progress of education has come a demand for the admission of more Indians to the higher ranks of the administration and to the Government Councils. The Indian National Congress, which has met annually since 1885, claims self-government for India. The Indian Government regards this claim as a dream of the future. But in 1909 Parliament agreed that the various classes and religions of India should be represented by some elected members in the legislative councils; Indians have also been appointed members of the Secretary of State's Council in England and of the Viceroy's Council at Calcutta.

Dependencies of India.

The Indian Empire has a few outlying dependencies in the Indian Ocean. The most remote is Aden, a fortified coaling-station at the south-western corner of Arabia, which was annexed in 1839, and, with the neighbouring island of Perim, which was occupied in 1857, is attached to the Bombay Presidency. Aden, lying on the great trade-route between East and West by the Suez Canal and Red Sea, is a very important outpost. It forms the centre of a British protectorate over the tribes dwelling along the south coast of Arabia up to Oman or Muscat. The large island of Socotra

and the Kuria Muria group of islands, lying off this coast, are included in the protectorate. In the Persian Gulf, a political agent of the Indian Government supervises the affairs of Bahrein Island and the neighbouring Arab coast. The Laccadive Islands in the Arabian Sea, 200 miles west of Malabar, are controlled from Madras, while the Maldives, further south, belong to Ceylon. In the Bay of Bengal are the Andaman Islands, used since 1858 as our Indian convict settlement, and the Nicobar Islands, which were annexed to India in 1869. In short, every island worthy of the name in the seas round India has been brought under British rule.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The Secretary of State.

UNDER the King of Great Britain, as Emperor of India, the final authority with regard to Indian affairs is the Secretary of State for India. He is a member of the Cabinet in power, and is directly responsible to Parliament for all that he does. He is assisted by a Council of fourteen, nine of whom must have personal knowledge of India and its affairs. The Secretary of State is guided by the advice of his Council, but is not bound to follow it, nor need he consult the Council on a question of peace or war. The Act of 1858, which created his office, provided that India should not pay for wars beyond her frontiers without the consent of Parliament. Every year the Secretary of State presents the Indian

Budget to Parliament, with a report on the progress of the country.

The Viceroy.

In India the Viceroy, as the Governor-General is commonly called, is supreme, subject to the control of the Secretary of State in London. He is almost invariably a British peer with considerable experience of public life, and is appointed by the Crown for five years, though his term of office may be extended. He is assisted by, and acts through, an Executive Council of six or seven members, who constitute his Cabinet; but in certain cases he may act independently of the Council if he thinks fit. He himself usually takes charge of the foreign policy, while the Commander-in-Chief is responsible for the army. The Viceroy has also a Legislative Council, including himself and his executive, with not more than thirty-five nominated members (of whom twenty-eight may be officials), and not less than twenty-five elected by the professional classes, the landowners, the Mohammedans, and chambers of commerce. The professional members now sitting were chosen by the non-official members of the legislative councils of the chief provinces. The Legislative Council sits in public, and may debate the Budget as well as ordinary Bills.

His Councils.

The High Courts.

There are four High Courts of Justice, in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces, with Judges appointed by the British Government. One-third of them must be Indian Civil Servants. Appeals in some cases may be taken to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. There are Chief Courts in the Panjab and Burma, and lesser courts in the other provinces. The laws of British India,

like those of France and Germany, are mostly contained in Codes, and not in scattered Acts; but questions of marriage and succession to property, where natives alone are concerned, have to be decided by Hindu or Mohammedan law or by varying local customs.

Provincial Government.

Apart from the native States, India is divided into thirteen provincial governments and administrations, namely: Under Governors—(1) Madras and (2) Bombay. Under Lieutenant-Governors—(3) Bengal; (4) Eastern Bengal and Assam; (5) the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; (6) the Panjab; (7) Burma. Under Chief Commissioners—(8) The Central Provinces and Berar; (9) the North-West Frontier Province; (10) Ajmir-Merwara, administered by the Political Agent in Rajputana; (11) Coorg, administered by the Resident at Mysore; (12) British Baluchistan; (13) the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Governors of Madras and Bombay are appointed directly by the Crown, and, like the Governor-General, have an executive council, and a legislative council composed partly of officials and civilians nominated by the Governor, and partly of persons elected by the leading classes of the community. Madras and Bombay are, like other provinces, subject to the Viceroy, but in practice he interferes as little as possible with their administration. The heads of all the other provinces are appointed by the Viceroy. The Lieutenant-Governors have legislative councils, similar to those of Madras and Bombay; in Bengal the Lieutenant-Governor has an executive council as well. The acts of all provincial councils must be sanctioned

by the Viceroy, who exercises absolute control over the whole administration.

The provinces vary widely in size and population. Burma is one-third larger than the United Kingdom, but has only about 11,000,000 inhabitants. Bengal, which is almost equal in size to the United Kingdom, has over 50,000,000 people, and the United Provinces are nearly as large and nearly as populous. Bombay, with the native States, is half as large again as the United Kingdom, and Madras is larger by one-sixth. But Ajmir-Merwara is not bigger than the English county of Lincolnshire, and Coorg is smaller still.

The Districts.

The provinces are subdivided into about 260 districts, each being on an average as large as an English county. Each district is under the control of a civil official, called a Collector-Magistrate, as a rule, in the older provinces, and a Deputy-Commissioner in the others. He is aided by British assistant-collectors, by a police-superintendent, surgeon, engineer, and judge, and by a staff of Deputy-Collectors, who are mostly natives. He is responsible for good order in his district, and, as his older title implies, is both a revenue official and a magistrate.

The Indian Civil Service.

All the higher administrative officers belong to the Covenanted Civil Service of India, except for a few military officials in the frontier provinces. The Civil Service contains about a thousand British officials, with a few natives. They are chosen by competitive examination in Great Britain, at the rate of about sixty a year, and, after studying Indian law and an Indian language, they proceed

to India. They may retire on a pension after twenty-one years of active service. This small body of highly trained officials is directly responsible for the welfare of four-fifths of the Indian peoples, numbering about 240,000,000.

The Tahsil and the Village.

In each district there are several divisions, each of which is under the charge of a junior member of the Civil Service. The division in turn contains five or more subdivisions, called "tahsils," each under a native official, or "tahsildar," who has to collect the taxes and report to his chiefs on the state of the crops, so that, in case of need, the poor peasants may receive prompt relief. Every village under its headman, as a rule, accounts as a body for the taxes of the villagers. The village community is thus the foundation of government as well as of society.

Land Revenue.

The Government derives a fourth of its whole income from the land-tax, or rent paid by the peasantry for the land which they cultivate. The land-tax was fixed once for all a century ago in Bombay, and in parts of Madras and the United Provinces. Elsewhere it is fixed anew every twenty or thirty years, at a rate equal to less than half of the rent that a landlord would ask. The peasant on an average pays less than a tenth of the value of his crops in land-tax; it is estimated that the yearly tax is equal to 1s. 8d. per head of the population.

Taxation.

Apart from the land revenue, the only tax paid by the average peasant cultivator is the salt duty. This used to be burdensome, because the duty was high, and salt is a necessary of life in India both for

men and for cattle. But the tax has lately been reduced, and is now equal to one penny on five pounds of salt. An income-tax is levied on all persons with incomes of over £66, a small minority of the population. The Government also derives revenue from the opium monopoly, from Customs, from the forests, railways, and irrigation works.

The Native States.

Three-sevenths of the Indian Empire, with a fifth of its population, are still held by the native States, governed by their own chiefs under the friendly eye of the Viceroy's Agents. They number more than 600 in all, but most of them are small. The chief native States are Haidarabad, in the Deccan, which is about the size of Great Britain, and has 11,000,000 people ; Mysore, almost as large as Scotland ; Kashmir ; Baroda ; Gwalior, Indore, and Rewa, in the Central India Agency ; Travancore ; Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur, in the Rajputana Agency ; and Kalat in Baluchistan. Each State has a treaty with the Government, regulating the relations of its ruler with the British Agent, who in some cases interferes very little, and in other cases does a great deal. The native Princes cannot employ foreigners without permission. The size of their armies is strictly limited. Special contingents from the chief States, known as Imperial Service troops, have been placed under the command of British officers, and have served on the frontier and in China. For many years the native Princes have been on good terms with the supreme power, which protects them without taking away their independence.

The Indian Army.

British rule in India is safeguarded by a strong army. The East India Company had a British

Indian army of its own. Now India is defended and kept at peace by 75,000 troops from the British army, with a native army of double the strength, under 3,000 British officers. The native regiments are chiefly recruited in the northern and central provinces; Gurkhas from independent Nepal, and Pathans from the semi-independent hill tribes on the north-west frontier, are among the best fighting-men, with the Sikhs and Panjabis. The whole force is divided into a northern and a southern army, which in time of war could, if necessary, be quickly concentrated on the frontier at Peshawar and at Quetta respectively. The army has not been called upon for many years in India itself; its presence is sufficient to keep order.

CHAPTER VII

INDIA'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Agriculture.

Two persons out of three in India live by agriculture. It is the chief industry, as it always has been, and the Government's main task is to help the cultivator and keep him on the land. Laws have been made in several provinces to prevent a farmer from losing his land if he runs hopelessly into debt. Land banks have been set up to encourage peasants to co-operate with one another in improving the soil, and agricultural colleges have been founded to train young men in modern methods of farming. But so many millions of the natives live in small and scattered villages that the old-fashioned methods and

the clumsy implements of the past are not easily superseded. The principal crops have been mentioned (see p. 294); within the borders of India almost every kind of plant can be grown. The tea-plantations of Assam and the opium-fields of the Ganges Valley are of great value. Cattle are used chiefly to draw carts and ploughs, and buffaloes are kept for milking. Sheep and goats are bred in large numbers; horses and mules are reared for the use of the army.

Forests. The forests spread over 200,000 square miles, about a fifth of the country, and are managed by the Government. They are of great importance for many reasons. They store up the rainfall, and keep the surrounding districts well watered. They afford grazing for cattle when the ordinary pastures are dried up. The forests yield much valuable timber, and the abundant undergrowth is used as fuel by the neighbouring peasantry. The forests are so well managed by the Forest Department that they yield a large and increasing profit to the State. Burma, with its forests of teak, has the richest stores of timber among the Indian provinces.

Mines. India was famous in the past for its metal manufactures, in iron and steel, copper and brass; but its natural supplies of ore have not been worked by modern methods until lately. Iron deposits occur in Bengal and the Central Provinces, and are now being developed. Copper is found and worked in the Deccan, Rajputana, and on the Himalaya slopes; tin, silver, and lead, are found in Burma. There is a rich gold-reef in Mysore, and gold is worked in Haidarabad. Manganese, which is used in

the manufacture of iron and steel, occurs in abundance in Central India and in Burma. Rubies and other gems are mined, especially in Burma. But the most important mineral products of India are coal, petroleum, and salt. The chief coal-fields are in Bengal, the Central Provinces, Haidarabad, and Assam, and now produce coal enough for India's needs, with a surplus for export. Petroleum occurs in the Panjab, and in Burma and Assam ; the Burmese oil industry is now of great importance. Salt is mined on the north-west frontier, and is also obtained by evaporation from the sea and the lakes on the west coast.

Manufactures.

In every village there are hereditary craftsmen, who ply their trades as their forefathers did, knowing nothing of modern tools or machinery. But in the big towns manufacturing industries on a large scale have sprung up. Calcutta is the centre of the jute-spinning industry, which gives work to 170,000 people. Bombay is the chief seat of the cotton manufacture, which there and in Bengal employs over 200,000 people. Paper-making, brewing, the preparation of indigo, rice, and opium for the market, the timber trade, and the iron and steel manufacture, are other industries of growing importance. But India still depends largely on Europe and America for manufactured goods. She is the chief customer of the Lancashire cotton spinners and weavers, and imports also great quantities of iron and steel wares and sugar, exporting in return raw materials, especially cotton, jute, hides, tea, opium, tobacco, rice, and wheat.

Railways.

The railways of India are controlled by the

Government through a Railway Department. There are now about 30,000 miles of railroad, and about 1,000 miles of new lines are laid yearly. The first important lines were made by private companies, to whom the Government guaranteed a return of 5 per cent. whether they earned it or not. But in recent years the Government has bought up these lines, and now owns four-fifths of all the railways. Most of the lines are worked by private companies for the State. The extension of railways is necessary both for military purposes and for improving the condition of the farmers, whose crops in good years can be taken quickly to market, while in bad years food can be brought to them from other and more favoured districts. Therefore large sums—about £10,000,000 a year—are being spent on railway construction. Half a million persons are employed in the railway service.

Canals.

Famine, the persistent enemy of the Indian peasant, has been checked also by the construction of canals in districts which suffer most from a scanty and uncertain rainfall. Within the last sixty years six great canal systems have been completed : The Upper Ganges Canal in Bengal and the United Provinces ; the Sirhind and Chenab in the Panjab ; and the Godavari, Kistna, and Kaveri systems in Madras. The Chenab Canal alone irrigates a district nearly half as large as Egypt. Besides these large canals, many smaller canals have been made to receive and store the flood-waters of the great rivers, which would otherwise run to waste and damage the surrounding country. Large districts have thus been turned from desert into fertile plains, upon which

many thousand peasants have settled. The canals yield a handsome profit to the Government. Large schemes for new canals are being carried out, especially in the Jehlam Valley and north of the Indus, in the Upper Swat Valley, where the barren frontier lands will soon be converted into cornfields.

MODEL OF A GILT BURMESE WAR-BOAT.

II

THE EAST INDIES

CHAPTER I

CEYLON

Physical Features.

THE Crown colony of Ceylon is an island lying off the south coast of India, from which it is separated by Palk Strait—a channel almost blocked by a line of sandy shoals called Adam's Bridge. It is 270 miles long and 140 miles wide, and has an area of about 25,000 square miles, almost equal to that of Scotland. The population is about 4,000,000. The coast is flat and the interior mountainous, especially towards the south, where the peaks rise above 8,000 feet. The best-known mountain-top is Adam's Peak (7,320 feet) ; on the summit of it is a footprint which Buddhists ascribe to Buddha, and Mohammedans to Adam. These high mountains intercept both the north-east and south-west monsoons, and have a very heavy rainfall, which clothes the valleys with rich vegetation. Few of the rivers are important ; the longest is the Mahaweli Ganga, which flows for about 200 miles from the southern range northward to the east coast. Though situated within the tropics, Ceylon is cooled by the sea-breezes, and enjoys a more even climate than Southern India.

Early History.

The early inhabitants, now represented by the small and dwindling tribe of Veddas, were conquered five centuries before Christ by a Prince from Northern India, with the help of Tamil immigrants from Southern India. Mahinda, son of the Indian Emperor Asoka, introduced Buddhism in 246 B.C. The descendants of the early Indian settlers are the Sinhalese, who form five-eighths of the population. Later immigrants from Southern India worsted the Sinhalese in interminable wars, so that, when the Portuguese reached Ceylon in 1505, they found the Sinhalese King in possession of only the southern hill-country. The ports were held by Arab traders, who conducted all the trade of Ceylon and introduced Mohammedanism. Ceylon was throughout the Middle Ages a commercial centre, where goods from the Far East were brought and exchanged for Western wares.

European Conquest.

The Portuguese settled at Colombo in 1517, persecuted the Sinhalese Buddhists, and forced the native Kings to become Christians. When the Dutch found their way to Ceylon in 1602, the Sinhalese welcomed them as deliverers, and helped to drive out the Portuguese. From 1658 to 1802 Ceylon was a Dutch colony, flourishing on the profits of the cinnamon trade, which was a monopoly. In 1782 the British East India Company's forces took Trincomalee, but lost it again to the French, who restored the port to the Dutch. In the Revolutionary war Trincomalee again fell in 1795, and Colombo was taken next year. By the Treaty of Amiens (1802) the Dutch ceded Ceylon to Great Britain. The Sinhalese still kept up their independ-

ence in the hill-country, but their last stronghold, Kandy, was captured in 1815, and their last King deposed.

The Crown Colony.

Ceylon, the leading Crown colony, is governed by the Crown through the Colonial Secretary in London and a Governor on the spot. The Governor is assisted by an Executive Council of six members—five of them officials, with the commander of the garrison—and by a Legislative Council of seventeen, including five members of the Executive Council, four other officials, and eight unofficial members of various classes and races nominated by the Governor. The island is divided into nine provinces, each administered by a Government Agent. There is a garrison of Indian troops, to the cost of which the colony contributes three-fourths; and Colombo Harbour is strongly fortified, the colony providing the permanent works, and the Imperial Government the heavy guns. There is a complete system of courts of justice under a Supreme Court, from which appeals may be taken to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; the laws are partly Dutch and partly British. The chief religions are Buddhism, with over 2,000,000 believers; Hinduism, with nearly 1,000,000; Christianity, with over 350,000 (mostly Roman Catholics); and Mohammedanism, with 250,000. These religions recall the earlier and later Indian invasions, the Portuguese conquest, and the Arab trading days, respectively. The only large town is Colombo, the chief port and capital, which has 180,000 inhabitants.

The colony derives its revenue chiefly from Customs duties, the railways, the salt monopoly, the

ale of land and timber, and licence duties on spirits. As a rule, the revenue is larger than the expenditure. A public debt, equal to about £5,000,000, has been incurred in building the railways and in other public works, especially the great harbour at Colombo, which is now a much-frequented port of call for steamers plying between Europe and the Far East and Australia. Trincomalee has a perfect natural harbour, but lies so far to the north of the mail-steamer route that it is seldom visited. To improve communications with India, a branch line is being made to Talai Mannar, on the extreme north-west of Mannar Island, from which passengers will be ferried in steamers to Danishkodi, the point on the opposite mainland. Revenue and Public Works.

Ceylon owes its prosperity to its good climate and fertile soil. Its chief product is tea, which was introduced about 1875 when the coffee industry had been, ruined by disease. In 1876 Ceylon exported 23 pounds of tea. Twelve years later it exported 23,000,000 pounds. It now exports annually eight times as much, worth about £4,000,000. A new industry, which is growing with equal rapidity, is the cultivation of the rubber plant ; in the ten years 1898-1908 the area of the rubber plantations increased from 750 acres to 180,000 acres. Cocoanuts, rice, cocoa, cinnamon, and tobacco, are produced in large quantities, and coffee and cinchona are also grown. The plantations, which are in the south central highlands, are cultivated by coolies from India, to the number of about 400,000, who are engaged by the month. Besides agriculture, Ceylon derives much wealth from its gem-quarries, con- Agriculture and Gems

taining rubies, sapphires, and many other precious stones, but not diamonds; from its plumbago mines; and from its pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Mannar, on the north-west coast.

The Maldives.

As already mentioned (p. 319), the Maldive Islands, a coral group 400 miles to the west, are a dependency of Ceylon. The largest island is Malé. The natives, numbering some 30,000, are of the Sinhalese race, and profess Mohammedanism. They are ruled by their own Sultan, who sends an annual embassy to Colombo.

CHAPTER II

THE MALAY STATES

Physical Features.

THE southern portion of the Malay Peninsula, between the Straits of Malacca and the China Sea, is entirely under British control. The frontier towards Siam, at present undefined, begins on the west coast at a point about 250 miles south of the Burmese frontier, and runs in a curve to the mouth of the Golok River, on the east coast. The British sphere, to the south of this frontier, has a total area of nearly 52,000 square miles, equal to that of England, and a population of about 2,250,000. The Malay Peninsula is a country of hills and forests. Down the centre of it runs a lofty range, with peaks rising to over 7,000 feet. Many large rivers rise in this range, and flow east or west through dense forest and jungle to the fertile coast plains. The chief rivers are the Pahang (285 miles long) and Kelantan on the east, and the Perak, Bernam, Selangor, and Klang, on the

vest ; these are navigable for small steamers, and orm natural highways of trade. Off the north-vest coast is the small island of Penang, commanding he northern end of the Straits of Malacca. Off the outh coast of the peninsula is the larger island of ingapore, commanding the narrow channel through group of islands which connects the Straits of Malacca and the China Sea. The climate of the eninsula has been described as that of " a perpetual urkish bath " ; the heat is great and fairly uniform, nd the rainfall is very heavy, especially in the hills, ut Europeans living a temperate life do not find he climate unhealthy.

Race and Religion.

The primitive inhabitants survive only in the entral forests. They have been replaced by three uccessive invading races — the Malays, possibly erived from Southern India through Sumatra ; the hinese ; and the Tamils from Southern India. The Malays, who have been Mohammedans for seven enturies, prefer fighting and sport to labour. The hinese, who outnumber the Malays in some districts, migrated to the peninsula to work the numerous n-mines in the hill-country, and are the chief traders nd farmers also. The Tamils are mostly coolies ho cultivate the plantations.

The Straits Settlements.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to gain ower in the Malay Peninsula. Albuquerque in 511 captured Malacca to check piracy in the traits, and provide a base for the Portuguese trade ith the " Spice Islands " farther east. A century tter the Dutch and the English competed for this aluable trade, which the Portuguese were losing. he Dutch were successful, and the English turned

their attention to India, retaining only two outposts in Sumatra. Not until 1786 did the East India Company renew its efforts in Malaya. Desirous of obtaining a convenient harbour on the west coast of the peninsula, as a port of call for its ships trading with China, the company authorized Francis Light, a merchant captain, to secure the cession of Penang Island from the Raja of Kedah, in 1786. A strip of the mainland coast two miles away was annexed in 1800, and called Province Wellesley, after the Governor-General of India. Malacca, which had been held by the Dutch since 1640, was captured by a British-Indian force in 1795, restored at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, and recaptured in 1807. By the Peace of Paris it was restored to Holland once more but was finally ceded to Britain in exchange for the old English "factories" or posts in Sumatra.

Singapore.

In 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles, who had governed Java for the British in 1811-1816, occupied the island of Singapore by agreement with the neighbouring Sultan of Johore. He saw that this desert island, by its position and its fine harbour would become a great place of call for ships in the China trade, and an important British outpost in the Far East. Until 1867 these three colonies were controlled by the Indian Government, but then became a separate Crown colony, called the Straits Settlements, with Singapore as the capital. Since then the district of the Dindings, on the coast between Penang and Malacca, has been annexed, in 1874; and the outlying islands, the Cocos or Keeling Group and Christmas Island, in the Indian Ocean have been placed under the control of the colony

as well as Labuan, the only British Crown colony in Borneo (see p. 341).

The Federated Malay States.

In the nineteenth century Chinese immigration into the peninsula upset the old native rule and produced anarchy. The British authorities ignored the troubles of their neighbours for many years, but when, in 1871, a civil war between Chinese factions broke out in Perak, and threatened to spread to the colony of Penang, it was resolved to intervene. Sir Andrew Clarke, the Governor, took vigorous measures against the coast pirates, and in 1874 persuaded the native rulers of Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong (in the country now called Negri Sembilan, or "Nine States"), to accept British resident advisers. The first Resident in Perak was murdered in 1875, and the country had to be pacified by troops. Another expedition induced six of the nine little powers in Negri Sembilan to federate by 1877; the other three joined by 1895. Pahang, on the east coast, had come under British protection in 1888; and the four States, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang, now agreed to federate. They are controlled by a Resident-General at Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Selangor, who in turn controls the four Residents, and is himself under the orders of the Governor of the Straits Settlements as High Commissioner for the Malay States. These six officials, together with the four native rulers, and four unofficial persons nominated by the High Commissioner, form a Federal Council which first met in 1909.

Other Protected States.

The five other native States within the British sphere have also accepted British protection, with British advisers, but are not federated. Johore,

which lies at the south end of the peninsula, and is rather larger than Wales, became a protectorate in 1885, and in 1910 received a British Resident. On the northern frontier the four States of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu, came under British protection in 1909 by virtue of the Treaty of Bangkok, in which Siam renounced any rights that it had formerly claimed over them. By a Franco-British agreement of May, 1896, the whole Malay Peninsula south of the Menam Valley is regarded as lying within the British sphere of influence, but this is intended to prevent any other Power from interfering with the Siamese Malay States. The five protected States just named are nearly equal in area and population to the Federated States, but are much poorer and far less civilized.

Trade and Industry.

The Straits Settlements have the ports from which the produce of the Malay States finds its way to Europe. These ports are also the natural centres of the trade of the Dutch East Indies, Borneo, and French Indo-China, and, being on the main ocean highway from West to East, are visited by an ever-increasing number of ships. Singapore has the largest docks in the Far East, and is one of the busiest ports in the world ; over half of its immense trade, valued at over £70,000,000 a year, is conducted with Great Britain and other parts of the Empire. The Federated Malay States owe their great prosperity to their rich tin-mines, worked chiefly by the Chinese. Tin to the value of £8,000,000 was exported in 1905, and an export duty on the metal forms the chief source of the revenue of the States. A little gold is mined in

Negri Sembilan and Pahang. Johore depends mainly on agriculture, producing large quantities of gambier, pepper, and areca-nut, which with rice, sago, coffee, sugar, and other tropical plants, are also cultivated in the other States. The new industry of rubber-planting is being developed rapidly throughout the peninsula. The Federated States have been able, out of their abundant revenue from tin, to help the backward State of Pahang to pay its way, and to build 600 miles of railway, including a main line from Province Wellesley down the peninsula to the capital of Johore, opposite Singapore, with branches to Malacca and other western ports. The States are distinguished for having no public debt.

CHAPTER III

THE FAR EAST

Borneo.

The north-west and northern coasts of Borneo, the largest island in Malaya except New Guinea, are under a British protectorate. This comprises an area of about 75,000 square miles, almost equal to Great Britain, and forms nearly a third of the island, the remainder of which belongs to Holland. It is a mountainous country, especially in the north, where the ranges approach near to the sea and contain a peak, Kinabalu, 13,700 feet high. On the west coast, where the mountains recede farther inland, there are several large rivers, the chief of which is the Rejang. The shores are low and marshy, and the interior is covered with jungle and forest, which when

cleared proves very fertile. The climate, like that of the Malay Peninsula, is very hot and moist, but is not unhealthy for Europeans. The inhabitants belong to many races—Mohammedan Malays and Kadayans on the coast, pagan Bisayas, Dusuns, and Muruts, in the interior, and Chinese immigrants in the towns and mining camps.

Political Divisions.

British Borneo is divided into—(1) the State of Sarawak, under its Raja, Sir Charles Brooke ; (2) the Crown colony of Labuan Island, which is governed as part of the Straits Settlements ; (3) the protected sultanate of Brunei, with a British Resident controlled from Singapore ; and (4) the State of North Borneo, governed by the British North Borneo Company. All these territories were once included in Brunei, whose Sultans ceded them piece by piece into British hands. Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo, were placed under British protection in 1888.

Sarawak.

The oldest Borneo settlement is Sarawak, of which the adventurous James Brooke, a retired British-Indian officer, became Governor for the Sultan of Brunei in 1841. He received occasional help from British warships which were suppressing piracy in the China Sea, and thus maintained his position. The Sultan of Brunei rewarded him with the perpetual governorship in 1843, and in 1846 ceded Labuan Island to Britain, Brooke being made the first Governor. In 1857 some Chinese gold-miners revolted, and burnt the capital, Kuching, but Brooke suppressed the rising, and Sarawak has since been at peace. In 1862 Great Britain recognized the independence of the State. James Brooke died

in 1868, and left Sarawak to his nephew, the present Raja, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke. The State has grown by successive annexations from Brunei, until it now has an area of 42,000 square miles, four-fifths the area of England, with a population of 500,000. The Raja rules as an absolute monarch through his son. The principal industry is gold-mining, carried on by Chinese labour; rubber, antimony, sago, and pepper, are also valuable products. The rivers form the only highways of trade.

Labuan.

The little island of Labuan, six miles off the coast of Brunei, has an area of thirty square miles, and about 8,000 Malay and Chinese inhabitants. It is noted for its excellent harbour and for its coal-mines, and is a port of call for ships in the North Borneo trade. It was administered for some years by the Governor of North Borneo, but was annexed to the Straits Settlements in 1907.

Brunei.

North of Sarawak lies the sultanate of Brunei, now reduced by cessions to a little State of 3,000 square miles, lying round Brunei Bay. The Sultan placed himself under British protection in 1888, and accepted a British Resident in 1906. With the help of the Federated Malay States, great reforms are being made in Brunei. It has one important coal-mine, but this is worked by the Raja of Sarawak.

North Borneo.

The northern corner of Borneo is governed by the British North Borneo Company, under a royal charter of 1881. The company, of which the chief founder was the late W. C. Cowie, bought up the territorial rights given to a syndicate by the Sultans

DEPTFORD LIBRARIES

of Brunei and Sulu. North Borneo, having an area of 31,000 square miles, is as large as Ireland. Its affairs are administered by a Governor, appointed by the company and approved by the Colonial Secretary. North Borneo has several good harbours, especially Sandakan, on the east, and Jesselton, on the west. Sandakan, the capital, on the shore of Sandakan Harbour, is about midway between Hong-Kong and Singapore, each about 1,000 miles away. The country has only 150,000 people, and its resources have therefore not been fully developed. But the soil is fertile, and there are mineral deposits and forests of great value. Tobacco, rubber, cocoanuts, timber, coal, and manganese, are among the chief exports. A railway has been made on the west coast.

Hong-Kong.

Great Britain possesses in China the Crown colony of Hong-Kong, and holds on lease the territory of Weihaiwei. Hong-Kong, like Singapore, was a desert island when it was acquired, and now is one of the world's greatest ports. It was ceded by China in 1841 by the treaty ending the first Chinese War. A strip, three square miles in area, of the peninsula of Kowloon, on the opposite mainland, was gained in 1860 after the second Chinese War. To secure the colony against foreign interference, the whole district adjacent to Kowloon, with the neighbouring islands from Mirs Bay on the east to Deep Bay on the west, having a total area of 370 square miles, was in 1898 leased from China for ninety-nine years. Hong-Kong itself is a hilly island, eleven miles long and from two to five miles wide; it is about one-fifth of the size of the Isle of Wight. Its

granite hills, 2,000 feet high, shelter the city of Victoria on its northern shore. The harbour lies between Victoria and Kowloon. It is a free port, and serves as the headquarters of foreign trade with Southern China. Many Chinese merchants have settled in Hong-Kong to profit by the fairness of British rule. The colony is administered by a Governor, with an Executive and a Legislative Council, on both of which the officials are in a majority. The population of Hong-Kong in 1906 was nearly 320,000, almost all of whom were Chinese. A University has recently been founded for the benefit of these Chinese subjects. Hong-Kong has a strong garrison, and is the chief British naval station in the Far East.

Weihai-wei.

In Northern China, on the coast of Shantung, Great Britain holds on lease the territory of Weihai-wei, including the island of Liu-Kung and the neighbouring coast. It was, when leased in 1898, to be held as long as Russia retained Port Arthur, on the northern side of the Gulf of Pechili, but remains in British hands, although Japan has ousted Russia from Port Arthur. Weihaiwei was used by the Chinese, and was occupied by the British as a naval station, but is now only a pleasant watering-place, governed by a Commissioner under the Colonial Office.

Shanghai.

The foreign settlement of Shanghai owes its existence and prosperity to British enterprise. But it is an international institution, protected by the British and foreign Consuls, and does not form part of the British Empire.

III

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND GENERAL HISTORY

Name and Position.

THE West Indies were so called because Columbus, who discovered them in 1492, thought that he had reached India. The term West Indies was at first applied to all lands west of an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, 370 leagues west of the Azores, by a treaty between Spain and Portugal in 1494, under which Spain was to have new territories to the west of the line, and Portugal those to the east of it, such as Brazil, Africa, and the East Indies. Nowadays the name West Indies is given only to the islands enclosing the Caribbean Sea, and the countries facing them on the mainland of Central and South America. The islands form a continuous curve from Florida, on the north, to the mouth of the Orinoco. At the north end of the curve lie the Bahama group of islets, backed by the large islands of Cuba, Haiti, and Puerto Rico, with Jamaica to the south of the channel between the two first-named. To the east and south of Puerto Rico the chain is continued by the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands. At the south end of the curve is Trinidad, off the Gulf of Paria, into which open the northern mouths of the Orinoco.

The West Indian Islands, taken all together, have a area of about 95,000 square miles, slightly larger han that of Great Britain. But the British islands, vith a total area of 13,750 square miles, form only a eventh part of the whole. These British posses- ions are grouped in six Governments : (1) Jamaica, vith the Cayman, Turks, and Caicos Islands ; (2) he Bahamas ; (3) the British Leeward Islands ; 4) Barbados ; (5) the British Windward Islands ; 5) Trinidad and Tobago. With these are two nainland colonies—namely : (7) British Guiana, on he north coast of South America, lying east of the Orinoco Basin and west of the River Corentyne, etween Venezuela and Dutch Guiana, a colony qual in size to Great Britain ; and (8) British Hon- luras, in the Gulf of Honduras, on the east coast f Central America, a colony equal in size to Wales. The British Colonies.

Most of the British islands are mountainous, with airly high peaks, rising in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica over 7,000 feet, while the Morne Diablotin f Dominica is over 5,000 feet. Off the coast of St. Lucia two conical rocks, called the Pitons, rise ut of the sea to a height of about 2,500 feet. The slands are well watered, though the rivers are small. There are numerous extinct or sleeping vol- canoes ; the last to have a bad eruption was the Soufrière, in St. Vincent, but a boiling lake on the Grand Soufrière in Dominica and the great Pitch Lake of Trinidad testify to present or past volcanic action. Earthquakes are not uncommon ; Kingston, Jamaica, was wrecked by one in January, 1907, as its predecessor, Port Royal, had been in 1692. The islands have perpetual summer, with a dry and a Physical Features.

rainy season. The Bahamas, lying farthest north, alone have a sort of mild winter. In October the islands are usually subject to hurricanes. Both the mainland colonies have a low-lying coast and a hilly interior, with dense forests. British Guiana boasts in Roraima of a mountain 8,000 feet high, and has three large rivers—the Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. On the Potaro tributary of the Essequibo are the great Kaieteur Falls, 800 feet high. In the south of British Honduras the Cockscomb Mountains rise to 4,000 feet ; the chief rivers are the Belize, Hondo, and New River.

Products. All the colonies are very fertile, and most tropical plants can be grown. The chief product is sugar, which is cultivated on a large scale in Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad, Antigua, and in almost all the other islands, and in British Guiana. Fruit, such as bananas and oranges, is grown for export in Jamaica and British Honduras. Cotton is produced in St. Vincent, St. Kitts, and Montserrat. Limes form the staple crop of Dominica and Montserrat. Cocoa is the staple of Trinidad and Grenada. St. Vincent is noted for arrowroot. Ginger and tobacco in Jamaica and rice in British Guiana are also important. Timber is the principal product of British Honduras, and is also exported from Jamaica and Trinidad. The rubber industry is being developed in British Honduras, Trinidad, St. Lucia, and elsewhere. Trinidad has in its Pitch Lake a vast deposit of asphalt, and also has a valuable petroleum oil field, which is now being worked. Gold is found in British Guiana. The Bahamas are noted for their sponge fisheries.

Population.

The inhabitants of the West Indian Islands are mainly the descendants of the African negroes who were brought there as slaves between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The pure white population is small. The "coloured" population, descended from intermarriages between white and black, is larger. But the majority of the people are pure negroes. Many thousands of Indian "coolies," or labourers, and some Chinese, have been brought under contract of service to Trinidad and Jamaica, and numbers of them remain. On the mainland, in British Guiana and British Honduras, besides the white, "coloured," and black people and the "coolies," there are native Indians, such as the Caribs and Arawaks, who once roamed over the archipelago, but now are only found in small numbers in Dominica and St. Vincent. The total population of the British West Indies is about 2,000,000. Jamaica is by far the most populous colony, with 848,000 inhabitants; British Guiana has 304,000, Trinidad 274,000, and Barbados about 200,000 people.

Early History.

As Columbus had discovered the West Indies for Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain claimed the sole right to colonize them or to trade with them. But throughout the sixteenth century French adventurers, followed by Englishmen, sought a share of this profitable trade, and did not scruple to fight for it. John Hawkins, the Devon captain, exported slaves from Guinea to Hispaniola (Haiti or San Domingo), where the Spanish colonists bought them readily. But after 1568, when Hawkins and his relative Francis Drake were treacherously attacked at

San Juan de Ulua, in Mexico, the English sailors, out of revenge, began to plunder the Spanish settlements. After the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the Spanish colonies were harried more persistently. In 1595 Sir Walter Ralegh, seeking a fabled "El Dorado," or golden king, explored the Orinoco River, but his plan for founding a colony in Guiana came to nothing. His follower, Roger North, tried in 1620 to make a settlement on the Amazon. This, too, was a failure, but one of his comrades, Captain (afterwards Sir) Thomas Warner, conceived the more profitable idea of colonizing one of the West Indian islands. He chose St. Kitts, and there, in 1623, founded the first English settlement in the Caribbean Sea.

Colonies and Conquests.

Throughout the seventeenth century, England, France, and Holland, strove to acquire territory in the West Indies at the expense of the Spaniards. Englishmen, from St. Kitts as their centre, soon colonized the Leeward Islands, with French cooperation. Barbados was occupied by emigrants sent out by a London merchant in 1627. English buccaneers or pirates settled on the Bay of Honduras about 1640. Jamaica was captured by Penn and Venables in 1655, during Cromwell's war with Spain. The Bahamas were formally annexed under Charles II. In the wars between Britain and France, which raged intermittently from 1688 to 1815, the West Indies were one of the chief centres of strife, and islands changed hands again and again. Most of the British Windward Islands were, however, gained during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Trinidad was not captured till

797, when Spain, its owner, had joined Revolu-
nary France. British Guiana was thrice taken
om Holland before it was finally ceded in 1814.
nce 1815 the British West Indies have been at
eace.

The eight colonies, or groups of colonies, must now
e considered separately.

1. Jamaica.

Jamaica is the largest British island in the West
ndies, having an area of 4,200 square miles, or
bout half that of Wales. It was discovered by
olumbus in 1494, and was first colonized by the
paniards in 1509. It was taken from them in 1655
y an English expedition under Penn and Venables,
ho had failed at Hispaniola. British colonists
ere sent out, a Spanish invasion was repulsed, and
n 1670 Spain ceded the island to England. The
rly English settlers, following the example of other
lands, cultivated the sugar-cane, and soon became
rosperous. Later, coffee became another staple
rop in Jamaica.

The Slave Trade.

But the young colony also gained wealth by more
oubtful means. Its chief harbour, Port Royal,
as a resort of buccaneers, headed by men like
ir Henry Morgan, to whom the Governor in time
f war did not hesitate to grant commissions as
rivateers. It was after 1713 the headquarters of
he British slave trade with the Spanish colonies.
profitable monopoly which Great Britain enjoyed
y the Treaty of Utrecht, and the smuggling which
ccompanied this trade had its centre at Port Royal.

Despite slave insurrections and violent hurricanes and earthquakes, the island throve during the eighteenth century. After the disappearance of the buccaneers, Port Royal was a great naval station throughout the French wars. Jamaica suffered severely from the stoppage of the slave trade in 1807, for the profits on the import of 10,000 slaves a year were considerable. It received another blow when slavery itself was abolished in 1833; for though the planters received £6,000,000 as compensation, they could not or would not change their old methods, while the freed slaves were disinclined to work. The exports of sugar and coffee rapidly declined, and Jamaica seemed on the verge of ruin.

The Assembly.

The House of Assembly now quarrelled with the Imperial Government. Since 1662 Jamaica had had a Parliament of two Houses, a Council and an elected Assembly, and the Assembly exercised all the rights of the British House of Commons. When in 1838 the Imperial Parliament passed an Act to reform the West Indian prisons, the Jamaica Assembly refused to do any business until this Act interfering with its rights was repealed. In 1839 Lord Melbourne proposed to suspend the Constitution of Jamaica. This was not done, but the Governor was authorized by an Act of the Imperial Parliament to make laws if the Assembly declined to do so. Thereupon the Assembly resumed its work. In 1853 there was a fresh dispute, this time between the Assembly and the Council, but it ended in the reform of the Council and the formation of a sort of Cabinet. The negro insurrection at Morant

ıy in 1865, so vigorously suppressed by Governor
ɣre that he was recalled in disgrace, frightened the
hite colonists, and in 1866 the Assembly surren-
red its powers to the Crown.

A Crown Colony.

Jamaica thus became a Crown colony, governed
th the advice of a Legislative Council of official
ıd non-official members. The Council now consists
sixteen nominated members and fourteen elected
the people of the fourteen parishes every five
ars. The Governor and the five chief officials
ways form part of the nominated majority, but the
ɔvernor only votes when the numbers for and against
motion are equal. He is assisted by a Privy
ɔuncil, corresponding to the Executive Council in
her Crown colonies. Under Crown colony rule
ıaica has regained much of its prosperity. A
ry large and profitable trade in bananas and
anges has been developed with America and Great
ritain, and the Imperial Government has shared
e cost of a new service of steamers between
ingston and Bristol. The fruit exported is now
ɔrth over a million pounds a year, while the exports
sugar and its products, such as rum, are valued
only a fourth as much. The capital and chief
ɔrt is Kingston. The other ports are Port Antonio
ıd Montego Bay. These are connected with the
pital by a railway, owned and worked by the
ɔvernment.

Dependencies.

The colony of Jamaica includes several outlying
oups of islands. The Turks and Caicos Islands,
the eastern end of the Bahama chain, lie as far
the north of the Windward Channel, between
ıba and Haiti, as does Jamaica to the south of it.

They have been controlled by Jamaica since 1848, and produce salt, sponges, and hemp. To the south and south-east of Jamaica are the Pedro and Morant Cays, valuable for their guano and turtles; they were annexed in 1882. Far away to the north-west, south of Cuba, are the three Cayman Islands, whose people live by building ships of the native timber and catching turtles. In days gone by the Caymans were a favourite refuge for buccaneers.

2. The Bahamas.

History. The Bahamas are a group of coral islands and reefs stretching from the coast of Florida to the north-eastern corner of Cuba. Columbus first touched land in the New World, in 1492, at San Salvador, now called Watling Island. The Spaniards carried away the native Caribs to work in their Cuban mines. In the seventeenth century English colonists from Bermuda settled in Eleuthera to work the salt deposits, and Charles II. granted the islands in 1670 to the proprietors of Carolina. New Providence was colonized, but it suffered so much at the hands of the Spanish and French that it was abandoned, and became a haunt of buccaneers. Captain Woodes Rogers, himself an old buccaneer, set up orderly rule in the King's name in 1718, and since then the Bahamas, though twice captured in the American War, have been a British colony. They have always had representative government under a Governor, a nominated Legislative Council, and an elective Assembly. Barbados is the only other West Indian colony which has similar institutions.

Nassau, on the small but central island of New Providence, is the capital. The twenty inhabited islands have a population of about 60,000.

The Bahamas export sponges, fruit, and sisal hemp. The native cotton plant is of good quality, but is not much cultivated. The most profitable business is that of providing for the American tourists who frequent Nassau in winter. Trade.

3. The Leeward Islands.

The Leeward Islands include all those lying east and south-east of Puerto Rico as far as Martinique. Some of the western Virgin Islands belong to the United States, others to Denmark, while farther east are the Dutch St. Eustatius and the French Guadeloupe and Martinique. The British islands, all Crown colonies, are divided politically into five presidencies: (1) St. Kitts, with Nevis and Anguilla; (2) Antigua, with Barbuda and Redonda; (3) Montserrat; (4) Dominica; and (5) the Virgin Islands. These five presidencies, with a total area of 700 square miles and a population of 127,000, have formed since 1871 a Federal colony, with a Legislative Council of eight officials and eight members elected indirectly by Antigua, St. Kitts, and Dominica, under the Governor. Each presidency, except the Virgin Islands, has a local council, subordinate to the Federal Council. The three older colonies, St. Kitts and Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat, together with Barbados, were granted by Charles I. to the Earl of Carlisle. At the Restoration The Federal Colony.

these colonies agreed to pay a duty of 4½ per cent. on their exports if the Carlisle grant was annulled, and continued to pay it till 1838. Barbados has a separate history, but the others have always had a common Governor.

St. Kitts.

St. Kitts, as stated above (p. 348), is the mother-colony of the British West Indies, for it was settled by Sir Thomas Warner in 1623. The English colonists welcomed the aid of French adventurers against the Caribs, and shared the island with them. The colony was almost destroyed by the Spaniards in 1629, but revived and prospered until 1666. In that year the war between England and France led the French colonists to expel the English, who returned at the peace of 1667. Again in 1689 the English were driven out, but soon had their revenge. When the War of the Spanish Succession began (1702), the English at once captured the French portion of the island, and by the Peace of Utrecht retained it. Once again, in 1782, the French took St. Kitts, but had to give it up at the peace of 1783. The island had an elective Assembly until 1877, like Nevis. The capital is Basseterre. Warner planted tobacco in the fertile plains between the shore and the central mass of mountains, but the chief products now are sugar and cotton. The population is about 30,000.

Nevis and Anguilla.

Immediately to the south of St. Kitts lies Nevis, which was colonized in 1628 by some companions of Warner. It shared the trials of the mother-colony, but had a peculiar prosperity during the days of slavery, because it was the chief slave-market for the Leeward Isles. It is famous as the

birthplace of Alexander Hamilton, the chief author of the American Constitution, and as the scene of Nelson's marriage in 1787. Its chief town is Charlestown, and its population about 12,000. Sixty miles north of St. Kitts is the little isle of Anguilla, which produces salt and cotton, and has about 4,000 inhabitants.

Antigua. Antigua, lying to the south-east, was colonized from St. Kitts in 1632 by Warner's son. The first settlers suffered greatly from the Caribs, who, according to Dampier, were treacherously ill-used by the younger Warner. Under Charles II., Lord Willoughby sent out more colonists, and the island, though occupied for a year by the French, was recognized as English territory in 1667. It was used as a naval station until modern times, and its chief town, St. John's, has long been the capital of the Leeward Islands. The old Legislative Council dissolved itself in 1898, when Antigua became a Crown colony. Antigua, which lies low and suffers much from drought, depends mainly on sugar. The industry has been revived in recent years by the establishment of a central sugar factory with Imperial assistance. Its dependencies, the little islands of Barbuda and Redonda, lie to the north and west, and are noted for their phosphate deposits. The total population is about 34,000.

Montserrat. Montserrat, to the south-west of Antigua, was also settled by colonists from St. Kitts in 1632. Many of them were Irish Roman Catholics. The island suffered the usual fate of capture by the French in 1666, and again in 1782, but was promptly restored. It had an elected Assembly for 200

years, but in 1867 became a Crown colony. The chief town is Plymouth, and the population about 14,000. The cultivation of limes is the main industry, but cotton and sugar are also grown.

Dominica.

Dominica lies midway between the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, and its possession was long hotly contested by the French. In 1748 it was agreed that the island should be regarded as neutral territory belonging to the Caribs, but it was captured by the British in 1756, and formed into a colony with an elective Assembly. The French retook it in 1778, and again in 1805, but finally ceded it in 1815. Most of the inhabitants still speak a French dialect and are Roman Catholics. Rodney's famous victory over De Grasse in 1782, which saved the British Empire, was fought off Dominica. Since 1898 Dominica has been a Crown colony. Its capital is Roseau, and its population about 33,000. The island, thanks to its heavy rainfall, is famous for the magnificent scenery of its volcanic hills, and thrives upon the cultivation of limes and cocoa.

The Virgin Islands.

The group of little isles called the Virgin Islands was partly annexed by England in 1666. About thirty-two of them are British, and the total population is only 5,000. The chief island is Tortola. The islands are ruled by a Commissioner, on behalf of the Governor of the Leeward Islands. The people live by fishing and cotton-growing.

4. Barbados.

History. Barbados is geographically the outermost of the Windward Islands, but it has no political connection with them. It was first colonized in 1627, by a party sent out at the expense of a London merchant, who found it uninhabited. In the same year it was granted by Charles I., with the Leeward Islands (see p. 353), to the Earl of Carlisle, who sent out more settlers. Tobacco, cotton, ginger, and then sugar, were planted, and the colony soon prospered. Many Royalists emigrated to Barbados after the fall of Charles I., and they in 1650 proclaimed his son as King of England, deposing the Governor in favour of Lord Willoughby, to whom the Earl of Carlisle had transferred his rights. Ayscue, with a fleet, was sent out by the Commonwealth to suppress the revolt, and the colonists, being divided, came to terms with him. At the Restoration the planters in Barbados and the Leeward Islands were fearful lest Lord Willoughby, as proprietor, should seek to expel them from their holdings. They therefore agreed to an export duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all produce exported from the islands, if the proprietor's rights were abolished. It was a bad bargain for the islands, who paid in all £7,000,000 before the export duty was removed in 1838. Barbados was more fortunate than its neighbours in escaping foreign invasion, partly because its white population was always considerable. It was the custom in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century to send prisoners of war, rebels, and ne'er-do-wells to the

Barbados plantations, thus increasing the white element, though many negro slaves were imported as well.

Government.

Barbados is the only West Indian colony, except the Bahamas, to retain its old Constitution, with a Governor, a nominated Council, and an Assembly elected annually since 1660. The Governor has an Executive Council, and this is kept in touch with the Assembly through an Executive Committee, including the Executive Council, one member of the Legislative Council, and four members of the Assembly, which has charge of all Government measures. Barbados is also exceptional in having the Church of England established and endowed as the State Church, under a Bishop, and it has a number of good schools and colleges. Bridgetown, the capital, is the headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture, which, at the expense of the Imperial Government, works for the benefit of the West Indian colonies.

Industry.

Barbados, with 1,200 persons to the square mile, is the most densely populated of the islands, and is very highly cultivated. Sugar is the one great industry, but cotton is being grown in increasing quantities, and asphalt is mined.

5. The Windward Islands.

Three Crown Colonies.

The Windward Islands are St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, with the Grenadines, lying in a line due south of Martinique and west of Barbados. They are three separate Crown colonies under one Governor, residing at Grenada ; St. Lucia and St.

Vincent have each an Administrator subject to him. As with Dominica, their possession was fiercely contested between Great Britain and France throughout the eighteenth century, and St. Lucia was not finally ceded till 1814.

Grenada. Grenada was colonized by the French in 1650, despite the fierce resistance of the Caribs, who had destroyed an earlier English settlement. In 1762 it was captured by a British expedition, and, though lost in 1779, when D'Estaing's fleet had temporary command of the Caribbean Sea, was regained by the peace of 1783. During the Revolutionary war, Victor Hugues, a delegate of the French Convention, stirred up a savage negro insurrection in Grenada and the other Windward Islands, in which the Governor of Grenada was killed. It was suppressed by Sir Ralph Abercrombie in 1796, and Grenada has since been at peace. For a century up to 1875 Grenada had an elected Assembly, but is now a Crown colony. Its capital is St. George's, and its population, most of whom are French-speaking Roman Catholics, numbers about 73,000. The chief product of the island is cocoa.

St. Vincent. St. Vincent, like Dominica, was long regarded officially as neutral Carib territory, but it was coveted by both France and Britain, and captured by a British expedition in 1762. The French took it, as well as Grenada, in 1779, and restored it in 1783. Then in 1795 the Caribs, to whom a district had been allotted, broke out in revolt, and massacred many colonists. When the revolt had been suppressed by Abercrombie, the whole Carib population was expatriated to the Mosquito coast. The island

is noted for the Soufrière volcano, at the northern end of its rugged mountain backbone. An eruption of the Soufrière in 1902 laid waste the whole neighbourhood, with the loss of 2,000 lives. The colony formerly had an elected Assembly, but has been a Crown colony since 1877. Its capital is Kingstown, where the Administrator lives, and it has a population of 52,000. St. Vincent produces valuable crops of arrowroot and the finest cotton.

St. Lucia.

St. Lucia was colonized by Frenchmen from Martinique at the same time as Grenada, though here, also, earlier English settlers had been destroyed by the Caribs. From Charles II.'s reign onward, St. Lucia was a bone of contention between England and France, chiefly because it has an excellent harbour and a good climate. But though the island was repeatedly taken, it was always restored to France until 1803, when it was captured for the last time by a British force after sharp fighting. The harbour on which the capital, Castries, is situated was made a naval station and fortified at great expense, but is no longer used for that purpose. It remains, however, an important coaling-station for merchant vessels. The inhabitants, numbering 50,000, are chiefly French-speaking Roman Catholics, and both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches receive State aid. St. Lucia has always been a Crown colony. It is not yet highly cultivated, but produces a fair quantity of sugar and cocoa.

6. Trinidad and Tobago.

Trinidad. Trinidad, lying off the northern mouths of the Orinoco, naturally formed part of Spanish America. But the Indians long foiled all Spanish attempts to colonize the island, and the first settlement, made in 1592, had a precarious existence, threatened by the Indians as well as by the English and Dutch. In 1783 foreign Roman Catholics were invited to settle in Trinidad, and many French colonists, alarmed by the effects of the Revolution in their islands after 1789, flocked to the island. It was captured by Abercrombie in 1797, and ceded to Britain in 1802. It has always been a Crown colony.

Tobago. Tobago, thirty miles away to the north-east, has had a most chequered history. English, Dutch, and French, strove for its possession during the seventeenth century, until in 1684 it was declared neutral. It was ceded to England in 1763, lost to France in 1783, retaken only to be given up at the Peace of Amiens, and finally regained as British in 1814. It was formerly a Crown colony under the Governor of the Windward Islands, but was annexed to Trinidad in 1888, and declared a ward of that colony in 1898. It is said to be the original of Robinson Crusoe's island.

Resources. Trinidad has a population of 255,000, and Tobago about 19,000. A third of these are East Indian labourers, imported under contract to work on the plantations. Many negroes from Barbados and other British islands have migrated to this colony. Now that Trinidad has a large population, its fertile

soil is properly cultivated, as it never was under Spanish rule. Cocoa, sugar, rubber, cocoanuts, and timber, are exported in large quantities. The Pitch Lake on the south-west coast yields a considerable revenue to the Government, and newly-found oil-fields in the south are being developed. The Government owns and works about eighty miles of railway. The capital, Port of Spain, is a large town; it is the seat of a Roman Catholic Archbishop and of an Anglican Bishop, and has a college supported by the Government. Next to Jamaica, Trinidad is the largest and most populous of the British West Indian Islands.

7. British Guiana.

History. British Guiana was first colonized, by the Dutch West India Company, between 1616 and 1621. Their settlements on the Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice Rivers were captured by the British in 1796, restored in 1802, retaken in 1803, and kept by the peace of 1814. Many British colonists had settled in Guiana under Dutch rule. For generations the western frontier was the subject of dispute with Venezuela, but in 1897, after the United States had intervened, the question was referred to arbitration, with the result that the British claim to the basin of the Essequibo was in the main upheld. The southern frontier towards Brazil was similarly settled by arbitration in 1904. The area of the colony is now equal to that of Great Britain, and the population about 300,000, a third of whom are imported East Indian labourers.

When British Guiana was acquired, it was formed of the two colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, and of Berbice. These were united in 1831, but traces of the old division remain in their laws. The colony is now governed as a Crown colony, but with peculiar institutions. The Court of Policy, consisting of the Governor and seven official members, and of eight members elected for five years on a restricted franchise, corresponds to the ordinary Legislative Council. But when it deals with finance it is reinforced by six other elected members, called "financial representatives," and is then called the Combined Court. The capital is Georgetown, on the Demerara River. New Amsterdam, on the Berbice, is the only other town of importance. Government.

Demerara has given its name to the best sugar, and sugar is the leading product of the colony. Rice is also very largely cultivated on the coast lands. Good timber is found in abundance in the vast forests of the interior, which also yield balata and rubber. Gold and diamonds are found in the north-western districts, where the mining industry employs 10,000 men. But until roads and railways are made, the interior cannot be properly developed. Products.

8. British Honduras.

The Crown colony of British Honduras, on the Bay of Honduras, between Yucatan on the north and Guatemala on the west and south, has grown out of a buccaneer settlement on the River Belize, founded by one Willis or Wallis about the year 1640. The settlers were attracted by the valuable History.

forests of mahogany and logwood, in which they traded with North America. The Baymen, as they were called, governed themselves, under the nominal supervision of the Governor of Jamaica, and beat off the persistent attacks of the Spaniards, who resented their intrusion. The last Spanish expedition that tried to take Belize was defeated in 1798 by the colonists, aided by a British warship and a few troops, at the Battle of St. George's Cay. Another settlement had been made by an English company in 1630 on the Bay Islands, off the Honduras coast, but this was officially given up in the eighteenth century, and the islands were recognized as Honduras territory in 1859. The mainland colony was ruled by an official Superintendent from 1797 till 1862, when it received a Lieutenant-Governor subordinate to the Governor of Jamaica. It was made a separate Crown colony in 1884.

Resources.

British Honduras is imperfectly explored as yet, and only a hundredth part of its area—equal to that of Wales—is cultivated. Its main source of wealth is in its forests, which have a seemingly inexhaustible supply of mahogany, cedar, logwood, pine, and other woods. Fruit is grown on a large scale for export, and the rubber and gum industry is being developed. A railway is under construction, and in the future British Honduras may rank among our richest tropical colonies.

IV

BRITISH EAST AND WEST AFRICA

CHAPTER I

BRITISH EAST AFRICA

THE gradual expansion of British rule over South Africa northward from the Cape of Good Hope to the Zambesi and Lake Nyasa has already been described (see pp. 247-53, 270-7). The growth of British power in North Africa will be described in the next section (see pp. 381-391). Here we shall see how Great Britain acquired large territories in East and West Africa. Those in the east are divided politically into the protectorates of (1) British East Africa, (2) Uganda, (3) the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and (4) British Somaliland, which is cut off from the rest by Abyssinian and Italian territory.

1. British East Africa.

Physical Features.

The East Africa Protectorate occupies the coast northward from the mouth of the Umba River, opposite Pemba Island, to the Juba River, and runs inland to Victoria Nyanza on the south and Lake Rudolf on the north. It is divided physically into six distinct belts, parallel to the coast—namely, low coast land, jungle, dry and elevated plains, the

great Rift Valley, the high Mau Plateau, and the low shores of Lake Victoria. The Juba and Tana Rivers are partly navigable. The inland plateau and the slopes of Mount Kenia (17,000 feet) are healthy for Europeans, and well adapted for cattle-rearing. The eastern districts are mainly desert. The shores of the lake are marshy, and the tropical heat oppressive.

History. The first Europeans to visit East Africa were the Portuguese, who exercised authority over the Arab chiefs along the coast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They lost their chief fort, Mombasa, and all their power north of Mozambique, in 1698, after a long war with the Imam of Muscat in South-East Arabia. In 1832 the ruling Imam, Seyyid Said, made Zanzibar his capital, and thence exercised a loose control over the East African coast. He was on friendly terms with Britain, and at his death, in 1856, the Governor-General of India, Lord Canning, was asked to decide between the claims of two of the Imam's sons to succeed him. Canning gave Muscat to one, and Zanzibar to the other. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought East Africa into closer touch with Europe; and in the reign of Seyyid Burgash, Sultan from 1870 to 1888, Zanzibar gradually came under British influence, through the tact of Sir John Kirk, the British Political Agent. Burgash agreed to abolish the slave trade, and encouraged European commerce. Had the British Government wished it, he would have given all his nominal kingdom on the mainland to a British company in 1878. As it was, a German company secured the southern half, and

by a German-British agreement of 1886 the Sultan's claims were limited to a coast strip ten miles wide, only the coast between the Umba and Tana being within the British sphere. But four years later, Germany, in exchange for Heligoland, agreed that the British sphere should be continued northward to the Juba, and recognized the British protectorate just proclaimed over Zanzibar.

Settlement.

The settlement of this great territory, as large as France, was first attempted by the British East Africa Company in 1887. But after eight years it gave up the task, and the British Government began to rule East Africa as a protectorate in 1896, having first suppressed an Arab revolt on the coast. At that time East Africa was valued chiefly as the highway to Uganda, and the construction of a railway across the protectorate was begun in 1896, not so much for the benefit of East Africa as in the interests of British rule in the inland kingdom beyond. This State railway from Mombasa to Port Florence on Victoria Nyanza has, however, revealed the unsuspected qualities of the high plateau of East Africa as a white man's country. In the neighbourhood of Nairobi, the administrative capital and the chief station on the railway, there are now 400 white farmers, and large tracts of land are being leased from the State for cattle-runs. The protectorate is ruled by a Governor, with a Legislative Council on which the settlers are represented, and is now in effect a Crown colony, under the care of the Colonial Office.

2. Uganda.

Position and Physical Features.

The protectorate of Uganda lies on the Equator, in Central Africa. It is a high plateau shelving down to Victoria Nyanza on the south, and on the west to the Upper Nile, which flows northward from Lakes Edward and Albert. On the east a high mountain range, running north from Mount Elgon (14,000 feet), separates it from Lake Rudolf, and on the north it falls towards the swamps of the Sudan. The Victoria Nile flows down the Ripon Falls from Victoria Nyanza, through Lake Kioga in the centre of Uganda, and joins the main river at the north end of Lake Albert. A line from the north-east of Victoria Nyanza to Lake Rudolf divides Uganda from British East Africa. The 5th parallel of north latitude divides it from the Sudan. West of the Nile Valley lies the Belgian Congo. The southern half of Victoria Nyanza is in German East Africa. The area of the Uganda Protectorate is roughly equal to that of the United Kingdom, and its population about 4,000,000. It includes not merely the comparatively civilized Bantu people of Uganda round Victoria Nyanza, and the less civilized people of Unyoro on Lake Albert, but the more savage people of Buddu between Lake Edward and Victoria Nyanza, and primitive negro races in the north.

History.

Speke and Grant, on their famous journey to the great lakes in 1862, were the first Europeans to visit the kingdom of Uganda, then ruled by M'tesa. Unyoro was partly annexed to the Egyptian Sudan by Gordon in 1876. Protestant and Roman Catholic

missions were established in Uganda by 1879, while Arab missionaries tried to make M'tesa a Mohammedan. After his death, his son and successor, Mwanga, fearful of European interference, persecuted the Christians, and had Bishop Hannington murdered. A long civil war followed, in which the Christians overcame the Mohammedans, and then fought one another, Protestants against Roman Catholics. In the midst of this turmoil, the British East Africa Company, fearful lest Germany should annex Uganda, sent Captain (now Sir Frederick) Lugard in 1890 to protect their interests. He made a treaty with Mwanga, and, enlisting a number of Sudanese soldiers formerly in the Egyptian service under Emin Pasha (see p. 389), he forced the warring parties to make peace. As the Company could not afford to retain Uganda, the British Government, on the advice of Sir Gerald Portal, declared a protectorate over it in 1894. Meanwhile Kabarega, King of Unyoro, had been subdued. To connect Uganda with the coast, a railway was now built. The country seemed to be peaceful, when suddenly, in 1897, Mwanga turned against the British, and most of the Sudanese troops mutinied. Happily for Uganda, Macdonald, with scanty forces, held his own until Indian reinforcements, sent up by the half-finished railway, arrived in 1898 and suppressed the rebels. Mwanga and Kabarega, both of whom had joined the mutineers, were captured and sent out of the country.

Government and Trade.

The Protectorate is ruled by an Administrator under the Colonial Office. It is divided into five provinces, one of which is the kingdom of Uganda,

under the Kabaka (or King), a grandson of M'tesa. The authority of the native chiefs over their people is as far as possible maintained. Communication with Mombasa is kept up by the East African railway to Port Florence on Victoria Nyanza, and by a steamer across the lake to Entebbe, the capital. The protectorate does not pay its way, and is supported by Imperial grants in aid. It exports cotton, and will, it is believed, produce much rubber, coffee, and fibre, while there is abundance of pasture for cattle. But the climate is malarious and unsuitable for Europeans, and the native population round the lakes has been almost destroyed by sleeping sickness.

3. The Zanzibar Protectorate.

The dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, which once nominally included the whole of East Africa north of Mozambique, were reduced by 1890-91 to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, with a ten-mile strip along the coast of the British East Africa Protectorate, of which it forms part for purposes of government. Zanzibar had long been, and continued to be, governed by Lloyd Mathews, an old naval officer, as the Sultan's Prime Minister, under the supervision of the British Agent. This system has been maintained, so that Zanzibar is a protected State under the Foreign Office, and not a colony. The only attempt to question British authority was made in 1896 by Seyyid Khalid, a claimant to the throne, but a brief bombardment of the palace put an end to his petty revolt. Zanzibar

itself is a fertile coral island, with an area of 650 square miles, or about thrice as large as the Isle of Man. Its dependency, Pemba, thirty miles to the north, is about half its size. Zanzibar has an excellent harbour, and is the chief centre of foreign trade with East Africa. Pemba is noted for its valuable clove plantations. The population numbers about 250,000. Most of them were negro slaves, but slavery has been abolished since 1897.

4. The Somaliland Protectorate.

British Somaliland borders on the Gulf of Aden, from Lahadu, near Zeila, for about 400 miles, and runs inland to the Abyssinian and Italian frontiers, having an area of 68,000 square miles—rather larger than England and Wales. It was nominally Egyptian territory in 1884, when it was declared a British protectorate. It was governed first by the Indian authorities, then by the Foreign Office, and is now under the Colonial Office. Much money has been expended on the protectorate in operations against a Somali chief or prophet, the Mullah Mohammed Abdullah, between 1901 and 1905, but in 1910 the British Government resolved to withdraw its officials and troops to the coast. The little ports of Berbera and Zeila supply Aden, on the opposite coast, with fresh meat, and export gum and ostrich feathers to Europe. The interior is chiefly an ill-watered desert, inhabited by nomad tribes who are rich in cattle. It is now a favourite resort of European sportsmen in search of big game.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

In West Africa, Great Britain has five possessions. These are, from north to south: (1) The Gambia Colony and Protectorate; (2) the Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate; (3) the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories; (4) the Northern Nigeria Protectorate; and (5) the Southern Nigeria Protectorate.

1. Gambia.

Gambia is the smallest of our African colonies. It includes the banks of the Gambia River and the islands in the stream for about 250 miles from the sea. English merchants began to trade with the Gambia in Elizabeth's reign. Under James I. a London company was formed for this purpose, and built Fort James on an island in the Gambia. Later companies exported slaves from the river to the West Indies, and the district was recognized as British territory in 1783. The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 ruined the last of these companies, and the settlement was made subject to Sierra Leone. The town of Bathurst was founded on a sandbank in 1816 as a refuge for freed slaves, and McCarthy's Island, 150 miles upstream, was bought in 1823. No effort was made to extend the colony beyond the river valley, and it was gradually shut in by the expansion of the French colony of Senegal. Gambia finally became a separate colony in 1888, but its

whole area, except the island of St. Mary's on which stands Bathurst, is governed as a protectorate through the native chiefs. Gambia, with 4,000 square miles, is about half the size of Wales, and has about 160,000 inhabitants who are negroes, chiefly Mandingo by race and Mohammedan in religion. The climate is dry and healthy in winter, but the reverse in summer. The chief product is the ground-nut.

2. Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone includes about 200 miles of the west coast between French Guinea on the north and Liberia on the south, and runs inland for about 180 miles, with a total area of 30,000 square miles, equal to that of Ireland, and a population exceeding a million. It may be divided roughly into three sections—low and unhealthy plains near the coast; higher plains beyond them; and hill-country in the far interior, from which flow numerous rivers. English merchants traded with the coast and set up factories, or warehouses, in the seventeenth century, in rivalry with the French and Dutch. But the colony was founded in 1787, on the peninsula of Sierra Leone, by a party of freed slaves whom the British Government sent out. By treaty with the native chief, a tract of land was bought in 1788. The Sierra Leone Company, organized by Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, and other opponents of slavery, took over the colony in 1791, and formed a settlement of freed slaves at Freetown. Zachary Macaulay, Lord Macaulay's father, acted as Governor from 1794 to

Freetown.

1799. French attacks, revolts, and native risings, almost ruined the infant colony and its parent company, and in 1808 the British Government assumed control.

French and British.

After 1860 the limits of the colony were gradually extended, first southward to Sherbro Island, and then northward. When France began to extend her influence over Guinea, the Sierra Leone authorities made treaties with the native chiefs, and sent expeditions to explore the unknown interior. One of these parties came into collision with a French force in 1893 at Waima, each mistaking the other for Mohammedan bandits. This incident led to the settlement of the boundary between French Guinea and the Sierra Leone territory. For some years Sierra Leone was the seat of government for the Gold Coast and Lagos, as well as for Gambia. Since 1888 it has been a separate Crown colony, to which the inland protectorate is attached. A railway, 220 miles long, traverses the territory from Freetown, which has the best harbour in West Africa. The protectorate exports large quantities of palm-kernels, palm-oil, kola-nuts, rubber, and other tropical products.

3. The Gold Coast.

The Gold Coast Colony has about 300 miles of the coast facing the Gulf of Guinea. It is shut in between the French Ivory Coast to the west and German Togoland to the east, the great Volta River forming a natural British-German frontier for many miles. The Crown colony proper, a low-lying

swampy country, is about 24,000 square miles in area. To the north of it is the dependency of Ashanti, a forest country of about 20,000 square miles. To the north of Ashanti is the protectorate of the Northern Territories, a comparatively open and hilly land of 36,000 square miles. The whole Gold Coast territory is thus almost as large as Great Britain, and has a total population of about 2,000,000.

History

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to discover the Gold Coast. They built a fort at Elmina as early as 1483, and kept out other traders until, in the seventeenth century, they were dispossessed by the Dutch. An English company then founded Cape Coast Castle, while Danes, Brandenburgers, and Swedes, also established stations, chiefly to carry on the profitable slave trade. After much fighting, the Dutch and English agreed to live side by side, and under Charles II. the Royal African Company built forts at Sekondi, Accra, and other places on the shore. In the eighteenth century the Ashantis, a warlike race, began to press southward ; by 1821 they were masters of the whole coast, and threatened the foreign settlements with destruction. The British trading company now surrendered its rights to the Crown, and Sir Charles McCarthy, Governor of Sierra Leone, was entrusted with the defence of the settlements. But he, rashly attacking the Ashantis with a force of coast natives in 1824, was defeated and killed, and his skull was long preserved at Kumasi as a trophy. This defeat was soon avenged, but the British Government was reluctant to assume responsibility for a colony that was likely to be involved in native wars. For a

dozen years the merchants on the coast were left to govern themselves. But, as they were suspected of slave-trading, the Government again stepped in, and not only controlled the old British settlements, but also acquired by 1872 the remaining Danish and Dutch forts on the coast.

Ashanti.

King Kofi of Ashanti, annoyed at the withdrawal of the Dutch and the establishment of British rule along the whole coast, now invaded the colony. He was repulsed from Elmina, but he did not make peace until a British force, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, had marched on Kumasi and taken it after five days of fighting in the bush (February, 1874). The Gold Coast and Lagos were now separated from Sierra Leone as a distinct colony, and in 1886 Lagos in turn was given a government of its own. When the French from Senegal, Guinea, and Dahomey, began to annex the interior north of the Gold Coast, it became necessary to bring Ashanti under control. As King Prempeh refused to receive a British Resident, Ashanti was invaded in 1896 and annexed. The country to the north as far as the 8th degree of north latitude was placed under a protectorate as the Northern Territories in 1897, and the boundaries were fixed by treaties with France and Germany (1898-99).

Commerce.

The Crown colony proper is very hot and damp, and unhealthy for Europeans, but the hill-country to the north is cooler and drier. The Gold Coast is very rich in gold, which is now being mined on the modern system to the value of £1,000,000 a year. The soil is fertile, and large crops of cocoa are now being grown. The forests yield great quantities

f rubber, kola-nut, palm-oil and palm-kernels, and mber. A railway has been made from the port f Sekondi, through the mining district of Tarquah, o Kumasi, and another railway is being built rom the other chief port, Accra, to Kumasi.

4 and 5. British Nigeria.

British Nigeria, which is divided into a Northern and a Southern Protectorate, comprises the whole of ne Middle and Lower Niger Valley, including the Niger's great eastern tributary, the Benue, and extends over the plateau north of those rivers to Lake Chad, a shallow inland sea on the edge of the Sahara. French Dahomey lies to the west, the French Sudan to the north, and the German Cameroons to the east. Southern Nigeria has an area of 77,000 square miles, almost equal to Great Britain without Wales, and a population of 7,000,000. Northern Nigeria has an area of 255,000 square miles, equal to that of Austria-Hungary, and twice that of the United Kingdom. Its population exceeds 10,000,000. The southern coast, facing the Gulf of Guinea, is low and swampy, and dense forests, inhabited by uncivilized negro races, extend far inland. The eastern half of it is the delta of the Niger, which reaches the sea by many channels. To the north-west, the hilly Yoruba country separates the old colony of Lagos (now incorporated in Southern Nigeria) from the Middle Niger. Across the river, to the north-east, are the great elevated plains, inhabited by the comparatively civilized Hausa people, which are not unhealthy for

Physical Features.

Europeans. These plains form the Fulah Empire of Sokoto, with the kingdoms of Gando and Bornu to the north-west and north-east.

History. Bornu, south-west of Lake Chad, is an old Mohammedan State, but the States of Sokoto and Gando were formed only a century ago by the Mohammedan Fulahs, who conquered the pagan Hausas. The first European to visit these countries and discover the Niger was the Scotsman Mungo Park, who went eastward from the Gambia in 1796, and was drowned at the Boussa Rapids while on a second journey in 1805. Clapperton and Denham in 1821-1825 crossed the Sahara from Tripoli and explored Bornu and Sokoto. Lander in 1830, from the Lagos coast, reached the Middle Niger, and sailed down it to the sea. These discoveries stimulated a Liverpool merchant, Macgregor Laird, to send steamers up the Niger and trade with the natives. After Laird's death other British merchants followed his example, and in 1879, to protect themselves against French competition, formed the National African Company, which made treaties with many chiefs. This body in 1886 received a charter as the Royal Niger Company, with powers similar to those of the old East India Company, save that it could not keep all the trade for itself. It made treaties with Sokoto and Gando, and it had a police force, a fleet of river steamers, and a High Court of Justice, to keep order within its sphere. From the west and the north French explorers were advancing, and the Company strove to check them by bringing the countries west of the Niger under British influence. The northern frontier was

ed in 1890, and, after the forcible occupation of upe and Ilorin, the western frontier was defined 1898.

Meanwhile the British Government had taken The Protectorate. er the control of the Lower Niger from the Company, establishing the Southern Nigeria Protectorate in 1893, and by the capture of Benin in 897, to avenge the murder of an envoy, had spired respect among the negroes of the delta. 1900 the Company was relieved of the task of verning Northern Nigeria, which now became a otectorate. The Fulahs attempted to revolt in 1902, t the great commercial centre, Kano, was occupied 1903, and the kingdom of Bornu was also subdued. he capital has been fixed at Zungeru, north of the iger, but the chief trading-station is Lokoja, at ie junction of the Niger and Benue.

Lagos, once a notorious centre of the slave Lagos. ade and a prosperous port, had been annexed 1861, and, with the neighbouring districts, had come a separate Crown colony in 1886. It was ded twenty years later to Southern Nigeria, which now a colony and protectorate, with Lagos as its pital.

Southern Nigeria, like the other west coast Commerce. olonies, chiefly produces palm-oil, palm-kernels, bber, timber, and gums. The Niger mouths were rmerly known as the "Oil Rivers," because so uch palm-oil was exported from Old Calabar, onny, and the neighbouring ports. Farther inland om Lagos, cotton and maize are grown for export, ong the route of the railway which has been made om Lagos northward to the Niger at Jebba, and is

being continued through Northern Nigeria to Kano. This town, from its great markets and its native cotton manufacture, is often called "the Manchester of the Sudan." At present the expense of governing Northern Nigeria far exceeds the revenue, and Great Britain and the neighbouring protectorate of Southern Nigeria have to pay the difference. But it is hoped that Northern Nigeria may become a great cotton-growing country, when the railway is completed and native produce may be quickly and cheaply sent from Kano to the Niger and the sea.

V

BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

EGYPT is not a British colony or protectorate, but is entirely under British control. In theory, Egypt is a province of the Turkish Empire, ruled by an hereditary Viceroy (or Khedive), and paying a fixed tribute. All foreigners enjoy special privileges in Egypt, and every foreign Power has a right to protect its subjects there. But in fact the country is governed according to British ideas, and the British Agent and Consul-General at Cairo is the actual ruler of Egypt. Again, the Sudan is not a British colony nor an Egyptian province, but a British-Egyptian conquest, ruled by a Governor-General, whom the Khedive appoints on the recommendation of Great Britain, but whom he cannot remove without British consent. Thus, Great Britain is responsible for both Egypt and the Sudan, and these countries therefore have a place in an account of the British Empire, though they do not in theory form part of that Empire. The British Position.

Egypt is the valley of the Lower Nile, from Wadi Halfa at the Second Cataract northward. There is a narrow strip of fertile land watered by the river when the flood comes down every summer. Beyond Physical Conditions.

the fertile land lies the desert, extending to Tripoli on the west and to the Red Sea on the east. Above Cairo the fertile strip widens into the district of the Fayum. Below Cairo the river divides into several channels, forming the Delta, which has the richest soil in Egypt. The existence of the country thus depends on the Nile. Away from the river all is desert. Only 3 per cent. of the whole area of Egypt, which is 400,000 square miles, or twice that of France, is cultivated. The Sudan is the basin of the Upper Nile from Wadi Halfa southward to Gondokoro, 1,250 miles in a straight line. It includes Darfur to the west, and touches the Red Sea on the east ; so that it is 1,000 miles wide, and has an area of 1,000,000 square miles, equal to that of Western Europe. The Upper Nile has several great tributaries. The Atbara, which joins it above Berber, and the Blue Nile, which joins it at Khartoum, both flow from the Abyssinian mountains. Above Khartoum the main stream is called the White Nile, as far south as Lake No. Here it receives the Bahr el Ghazal from the Central Sudan, while a little farther north the Sobat River flows in from Abyssinia. Above Lake No the river is called the Bahr el Gebel. This part of its course runs through vast swamps, but steamers can navigate it to Gondokoro, 250 miles from Lake Albert, and 1,000 miles from Khartoum. The Northern Sudan is desert. South of it is a great plain, especially fertile in the Ghezireh, between the Blue and White Niles.

People. The Egyptian people, numbering about 11,000,000, are much the same as in the days of the Pharaohs,

though most of them are now Mohammedans. A hundred thousand Arabs live in the desert. There are about 700,000 native Christians, called Copts. The Sudan population is about 2,000,000. In the north are wandering Arab tribes, with camels; south of Khartoum are Arabs who own cattle, with negro tribes in Darfur. The swampy basin of the Bahr el Gebel is inhabited by pagan negroes, called Dinkas and Shilouks, from whom the black Sudanese regiments are recruited.

The Suez Canal. The Suez Canal, made by the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps, and opened in 1869, forced Egypt into prominence by giving her the command of the new highway to India. Napoleon had seen the strategic value of Egypt, and had conquered it in 1798; but, losing command of the sea at the battle of the Nile, had failed to keep his conquest. Mehemet Ali, the Turkish Viceroy, who was then sent to govern Egypt, not only made himself master of the Sudan, but for a time held Greece and Syria, and threatened Constantinople itself. Before he died in 1849 he was recognized as hereditary Viceroy. The third of his successors, his grandson Ismail, who ruled from 1863 to 1879, purchased from the Sultan of Turkey the title of Khedive, and full power to raise foreign loans and make foreign commercial treaties, in return for a larger annual tribute. Ismail was an extravagant despot. He supported the Suez Canal scheme, forcing many thousands of peasants to give their labour without reward, and subscribing millions of borrowed money to the company. Apart from this great work, he did nothing useful. He acquired, largely by force or fraud,

much of the best land in Egypt, and he raised hug loans, which were squandered on building palaces an in riotous living. In 1875 he had to sell his Cana shares, which were promptly bought by Disraeli fo the British Government, and in 1876 he had t declare that he could not pay interest on h debts.

The Dual Control.

The European Powers now interfered on behalf o their subjects who had lent Egypt money. Isma in his short reign had increased the debt fro four to ninety millions, and an International Com mission, the Caisse de la Dette, was now appointe to see that the interest was paid. As the Egyptia finances were in confusion, Great Britain and Franc each appointed a controller to supervise the Egyptia Exchequer. Against this "Dual Control" Isma protested, but the two Powers induced the Sulta to depose him and recognize his son Tewfik a Khedive in 1879.

Arabi's Revolt.

The new reign opened amid general discontent due to high taxation and bad government, as wel as to dislike of foreign interference. The Egyptia army officers, jealous of their Turkish colleague became mutinous, and, led by Arabi, compelled th Khedive to give them the control of the governmen in 1881. The Chamber of Notables, a sort of Parlia ment, now began to claim some share in settling th Budget. It was feared that this would endange the payment of interest on the debt, so that Franc and Great Britain protested against the doings o Arabi's party. In May, 1882, both Powers sen fleets to Alexandria, where a disastrous anti-Euro pean riot broke out in June. Arabi repaired th

forts, and turned the guns on the fleets. Upon this, the British fleet on July 11 bombarded Alexandria, but the French fleet sailed away. Arabi was now dismissed by the Khedive. Thereupon he revolted with the army. Failing to persuade France to help in restoring order, Gladstone, then Prime Minister, resolved to act alone, and sent out an army under General Wolseley, partly to protect the Suez Canal, and partly to pacify Egypt. On September 13, 1882, Arabi's forces were driven from their trenches at Tel-el-Kebir, to the east of Cairo. The capital was quickly taken, and Arabi, with the other chief mutineers, was sent into exile.

British Occupation.

Gladstone did not want to occupy Egypt, but, having sent British troops there, he could not withdraw them. The country needed a firm rule to repress disorder, and news had come of a dangerous revolt in the Sudan. Therefore Great Britain became responsible for the good government of Egypt, and, as France had not helped her against Arabi, the Dual Control ceased. Lord Dufferin laid down the general principles of British rule in Egypt, and in January, 1884, Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, was appointed British Agent and Consul-General to carry out those principles by advising and controlling the Egyptian Government. It was thought at first that the occupation would last only a few years, but the longer it continued the more necessary it seemed to be in the interests of Egypt. France for many years raised difficulties, in the hope of inducing Great Britain to leave Egypt. But in 1904 France agreed to recognize Great Britain's right to stay in Egypt as long as she

thought fit, and the other Powers followed tl example.

Lord Cromer's Reforms.

Lord Cromer remained in office until 1907, ar during that time was the true ruler of Egy p Tewfik's son and successor, Abbas Hilmi, who b came Khedive in 1892, attempted in the early da of his reign to reassert the old Khedivial authorit but soon found that it was impossible to shake o the British control. Under Lord Cromer, Egyp was transformed from a poor and neglected countr into a rich and well-governed State. Taxation wa reduced, the peasantry were relieved from the *corvé* or system of forced labour, and rich and poor wer treated with equal justice. The revenue increase by more than half, and Egypt became able not onl to bear the burden of her old debt lightly, but t pay for many great public works which benefite her people.

Irrigation.

As Egypt, having little or no rainfall, depend entirely on the Nile for water, it was Lord Cromer chief task to improve the old system of artificia irrigation from the river, which had fallen int neglect. First of all, the old French "barrage," bridge fitted with sluice-gates across the Rosett and Damietta branches of the Nile north of Cairo was repaired and strengthened, so that, when th river was low, the stream could be held back and kep high enough to feed the three main canals whic supply water to the fields of the Delta. The effec was not merely to treble the area of land which coul be cultivated all the year round, yielding a summe crop of cotton as well as a winter crop of corn but in the summers of 1891 and 1892, when the Nil

was unusually low, the water could all be held back to fill the canals, and the crops were saved. Secondly, in 1898-1902 a huge dam was built across the Nile at Assouan to hold back the river, except during the flood, and thus to form an immense reservoir, from which the water could be let out as it was wanted. On this dam, on two other great "barrages" lower down the Nile, and on various new canals in Middle Egypt, £7,000,000 were spent; but they enable a million more acres of land to be profitably tilled, and will increase the wealth of the country by four times as much as they cost. The wonderful growth of Egypt's export of raw cotton to Lancashire is almost entirely due to the great irrigation works carried out by British enterprise under Lord Cromer.

The Sudan lost.

One reason why the British, having occupied Egypt in 1882, could not leave it was that the Sudan which Mehemet Ali had annexed, and which Ismail had extended so as to include Suakin and Somaliland, Unyoro and Darfur, was in a state of revolt. Ismail had employed some able and honest British and European officials, like Samuel Baker, General Charles Gordon, Emin, Slatin, and Gessi, who tried to put down slavery, and thus offended the powerful Arab slave-traders. The Egyptian officials in the Sudan were mostly incompetent, tyrannical, and dishonest men, who were detested by the Sudanese people. In 1881 Mohammed Ahmed, a Dongola carpenter's son, who had gained a reputation for sanctity, proclaimed himself Mahdi, the prophet who was to reform Islam and destroy unbelievers. He was joined by the fanatical and the discontented,

and, as he defeated the Egyptian forces sent t
capture him, he rapidly overran the whole Sudai
General Hicks, with 10,000 Egyptian troops, mad
a last effort to stay his course, but the army wa
slaughtered almost to a man in November, 188
near El Obeid. In the east, Osman Digna, th
Mahdi's lieutenant, raised the tribes round Suakin
and at El Teb, early in 1884, destroyed an Egyptia
force under Colonel Baker. Khartoum and a fe
remote garrisons still held out.

Gordon's Mission and Death.

The British Government in January, 1884, d
spatched General Gordon to Khartoum to brin
away the remaining garrisons, for they had resolve
to abandon the Sudan. But when Gordon arrive
at Khartoum in February, he tried to restore th
Egyptian rule, and declined to leave the capita
hoping that the British Ministry would change the
minds, and send troops to support him. Meanwhil
the Mahdi's forces steadily advanced, and o
March 22 besieged Khartoum. British publi
opinion now demanded a Gordon relief expedition
But the Government were slow to yield to th
demand, and the British army, under Genera
Wolseley, which began in October to move up th
Nile, could not advance quickly enough. The fore
most column defeated the dervishes—as the Mahdi
followers were then called—at Abu Klea, in th
desert, reached the Nile above Berber, and sent
party, under Sir Charles Wilson, southward o
steamers which Gordon had despatched to mee
them. But when Wilson steamed in sight of Khar
toum, on January 26, 1885, he was fired upon, an
knew that he had come too late. Two days befor

Khartoum had fallen, after a siege of 301 days, and Gordon, fighting to the last, had been killed on the steps of his palace.

Defending the Frontier.

The Sudan was now quickly evacuated, and Wadi Halfa, at the Second Cataract, was made the Egyptian frontier outpost. Emin Pasha, who still remained in the Equatorial Province, on Lake Albert, was rescued by Henry M. Stanley, the great explorer, by way of Uganda, in 1888-89. The Mahdi died in 1885, and was succeeded by his chief lieutenant, the Khalifa Abdulla, who continued his work, but was more of a despot and less of a religious fanatic than his master. The dervishes now pushed northward, and, though defeated at Ginnis, to the south of Wadi Halfa, at the close of the year 1885, they continued to threaten the frontier. The Egyptian army was now thoroughly reorganized and disciplined by British officers under General Grenfell, and then under General (afterwards Lord) Kitchener. In 1889 the Egyptian troops, who had formerly been useless against the Sudanese, were able, with the support of a few British troops, to defeat and destroy at Toski the Khalifa's advance guard, who had slipped past Wadi Halfa, and were marching to invade Egypt. The country round Suakin was also freed from the tyranny of Osman Digna. Egypt was now secure, and by 1896 her army was thought strong enough to begin the recovery of the lost provinces.

The Sudan recovered.

The reconquest of the Sudan was necessary, because the rulers of Egypt must control the whole course of the great river upon which Egypt depends for her existence. It was begun in 1896, partly

because the Khalifa's power was weakened by constant tribal wars, partly because the Italians who had occupied Kassala, wanted the Khalifa's attention diverted from them, and partly, too, because France was planning the annexation of the Central Sudan from the south-west. General Kitchener commenced by defeating the dervishes at Firket, and occupying Dongola, in 1896. He then built a railway across the desert to Abu Hamed, at the eastern corner of the great loop which the Nile makes above Dongola, and in 1897 occupied Berber. In 1898 British troops reinforced the Egyptian army, and, after routing the Khalifa's advance guard on the Atbara River in April, marched southward towards Khartoum. On September 2, 1898, the British-Egyptian army, 26,000 strong, met the Khalifa's army of 40,000 on the plain outside Omdurman, opposite Khartoum, and after a hard fight gained a complete victory. The Khalifa, with a few of his followers, escaped, but was hunted down and killed a year later. The Sudan was freed from a terrible tyranny, and Egypt from a standing menace.

Fashoda.

The reconquest had just been effected in time, for the French expedition, which was designed some years before to secure the Upper Nile Valley for France, was encamped at Fashoda, under the command of Major Marchand, who had made a toilsome journey from the Congo and down the Bahr el Ghazal, expecting to be joined by another party from Abyssinia. General Kitchener at once went up the Nile in a steamer, and, after a friendly conversation with the French commander, planted the

Egyptian flag in face of his French flag. The question was referred to the British Government, at whose request France withdrew Major Marchand, and renounced all claim to the old Egyptian provinces. The Sudan was declared to be under the joint control of Great Britain and Egypt.

Revival of the Sudan.

The Sirdar, or Egyptian Commander-in-Chief, has since acted also as Governor-General of the Sudan. British officers, together with some civilians, have restored order and gained the confidence of the natives, and the Sudan is slowly recovering from the effects of the Khalifa's misrule, during which three-fourths of the population perished, and many districts went out of cultivation. Lord Kitchener's first work was to found the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, for the education of the sons of the wealthier and more influential Sudanese. The old capital has been rebuilt, and is now connected by railway, not only with Wadi Halfa, but also with Port Sudan on the Red Sea, a good harbour which is replacing Suakin. The railway is being extended through the fertile district of the Ghezireh, south of Khartoum, and, crossing the White Nile, will reach El Obeid. Gum, hides, and cotton, are exported, though for want of labour the Sudan yields far less than it might do if it were cultivated like Egypt. Hitherto Egypt has borne part of the expense of governing the Sudan, but that country may in time be self-supporting. Darfur, since the fall of the Khalifa, has been ruled by a native Sultan under a British-Egyptian protectorate.

VI

THE SEA-LINKS OF THE EMPIRE

Sea-Power.

THE British Empire, like the small empire of ancient Athens, but unlike most of the great empires of the past, such as the Assyrian or the Macedonian or that of Napoleon, consists of widely scattered dominions, colonies, and dependencies, divided from one another by wide stretches of ocean. If the Empire did not control the ocean highways, it would not long remain an Empire. Its separate parts are linked together by its supreme navy, and by the possession on all the chief trade-routes of ports and coaling-stations, where its warships can obtain coal and stores and be repaired in case of need.

The Navy.

It is an axiom of British policy that the supremacy of the navy must be maintained at all costs. The navy must be always strong enough to defeat any naval force that is likely to be brought against it. For practical purposes, it is assumed that no hostile force will exceed the combined strength of the two next strongest naval Powers. Therefore the British navy is kept up to "the two-Power standard"—that is to say, new ships are built year by year in such numbers as to give the navy a slight superiority to the combined navies of the two foreign Powers which devote most attention to sea-power.

Photo, Gale and Polden.

H.M.S. "DREADNOUGHT."

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"Dreadnoughts" and Submarines.

Modern navies include five main classes of warships. The first class is that of "battleships," which are very large, coated with armour-plate almost a foot thick, and provided with very heavy guns. The newest battleships are commonly called "Dreadnoughts," after H.M.S. *Dreadnought*, launched in 1906, which was a larger and more powerful vessel than had ever been seen before. It has five turrets, in each of which is a pair of guns, weighing 59 tons apiece. Each gun is capable of firing twice a minute a shell of 12 inches diameter and of 850 pounds weight, which would pierce the armour of a hostile ship five miles away. The *Dreadnought* has a displacement of 17,600 tons, but newer ships on the same model are very much larger. The four latest battleships building for the British navy are of 22,500 tons, and two new American battleships are to displace 26,000 tons. The second class is that of "armoured cruisers." The newest and largest of these are "cruiser battleships," which are nearly as strong in armour and guns as the "Dreadnoughts," and have higher speed. The latest British ship of this class, the *Lion*, which is being built (1910), will be the largest warship afloat, displacing 26,350 tons, and will have a speed of 28 knots, which is greater than that of the best Atlantic mail-steamers. The third class includes "protected cruisers," with a thin armoured deck, which are used for patrolling the ocean trade-routes and for ordinary cruising in time of peace. The fourth class is that of "destroyers" and "torpedo-boats," the destroyers being large ocean-going torpedo-boats. The fifth class is that of "submarines,"

which can travel below the surface and attack warships with their torpedoes.

Relative Naval Strength.

In April, 1910, the actual strength of the British navy, and of the two navies of the United States and Germany, which come nearest to it, was as follows :

Navy.	British.	American.	German.
Battleships : Modern ..	32	20	17
,, Older	23	9	9
Armoured Cruisers	48	15	9
Protected Cruisers	57	17	34
Destroyers and Torpedo-Boats	266	53	162
Submarines	60	18	8

For the year 1910-11 the naval expenditure of the three Powers is as follows :

Great Britain	£40,603,700
United States	£26,515,468
Germany	£21,247,588

The main strength of the British navy is now concentrated in the North Sea, under the name of the Home Fleet, which has two divisions, each including eight modern battleships, always ready for active service, and two divisions in reserve. The Atlantic Fleet, with six battleships, cruises in the Channel and North Atlantic. The Mediterranean Fleet, with eight older battleships, has its base at Malta. The Eastern Fleet is in four sections. The China " unit " is to be headed by a large cruiser battleship given to the navy by New Zealand. The Australian " unit," also headed by a cruiser battleship, will be provided and maintained by the Commonwealth ; and there are smaller squadrons on the

PLAN of the TOWN and FORTIFICATIONS of GIBRALTER taken on this spot in the year 1738

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Cape and East Indies Stations. One or two small cruisers are kept in South American waters. Canada has undertaken to provide herself with a squadron of four cruisers.

The British ports and coaling-stations, which serve British warships besides ordinary trading vessels, form a chain almost round the world, except in the Eastern Pacific. These scattered but valuable possessions, apart from the Dominions and Colonies already noticed, may be considered in four divisions: (1) The Mediterranean, (2) the Atlantic, (3) the Indian Ocean, and (4) the Pacific.

1. The Mediterranean.

Gibraltar.

In the Mediterranean Great Britain holds the two fortified naval bases of Gibraltar and Malta, and the unfortified island of Cyprus. Gibraltar, a thousand miles from Plymouth, is a small rocky promontory at the extreme southern point of Spain, commanding the strait, twelve miles wide, which separates Spain from Africa and forms the entrance to the Mediterranean. The promontory is three miles long, and is connected with the mainland by a sandy isthmus. On the west of it lies the town, with 18,000 people and a large garrison. The harbour has been greatly enlarged of late, and includes docks where battleships can be repaired. All the heights are strongly fortified and armed with heavy guns. Gibraltar was taken by surprise in 1704, during the War of the Spanish Succession, by Admiral Rooke, and it has foiled all attempts at recapture. The most famous siege of Gibraltar lasted from 1779 to 1783,

during the American War, when Great Britain was fully occupied elsewhere. On September 13, 1782, the French and Spanish besiegers brought forty-seven ships of the line and ten floating batteries to crush the starving garrison by sheer weight of shot and shell. But Governor Eliott was not dismayed. His gunners in the rock batteries suffered little, but the red-hot shot which they poured on the enemy set the floating batteries on fire, so that the besiegers had to withdraw, after losing 2,000 men. With modern long-range guns, Gibraltar could be bombarded from the Spanish coast at Algeciras, across the bay to the west, in the unlikely event of a war with Spain. It is thus not quite so strong a naval base as it used to be, but it is of more importance than ever as a port of call and a cable-station. The Governor is always an experienced General, who has absolute control.

Malta.

A thousand miles east of Gibraltar lies the island group of Malta, in the centre of the Mediterranean, between Sicily and Tunis. The group consists of Malta, Gozo, and several islets, with a total area of 117 square miles—equal to that of London County—and a population of 213,000. The Maltese are of mixed race, and speak a language derived from the old Carthaginian and the Arabic, though the educated classes use Italian and English. The islands belonged in the past to the successive Powers who dominated the Mediterranean, but were granted in 1530, by the Emperor Charles V., to the Order of the Knights of St. John, who successfully beat off the Turks. Bonaparte captured it on his way to Egypt in 1798, but the British took it in 1800, and held it,

THE SIEGE AND RELIEF OF GIBRALTAR.
From the original by J. S. Copley, R.A.

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despite the Treaty of Amiens, until 1814, when Malta was annexed. The capital of Malta, Valetta, is built on hills surrounding a great harbour, which is provided with modern docks and is very strongly fortified. Valetta is the headquarters of the British Mediterranean Fleet, and is held by a large garrison. It is also an important commercial port. The interior is fertile, and produces fruit and early vegetables for export. The colony is ruled by a Governor, always an eminent General, with an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council of ten officials and eight members elected by the people.

Cyprus.

Nine hundred miles east of Malta is the island of Cyprus, in the eastern corner of the Mediterranean. Like Malta, it has had many masters, but it was lost by Venice to the Turks in 1570, and came under the control of Great Britain in 1878 by a treaty with the Sultan. As long as the former Turkish towns of Kars and Batum remain Russian, Cyprus is to remain British; but the island has to pay £92,800 a year to Turkey, the money being used to meet the interest on an old Turkish loan. The occupation of Egypt in 1882 gave Great Britain so firm a hold in the Eastern Mediterranean that Cyprus, which has no good natural harbour, has not since been used as a naval station. It is the third largest island in the Mediterranean, with an area of 3,580 square miles—half the size of Wales—and a population of 259,000, four-fifths of whom are Greek Christians, while one-fifth are Mohammedans. Two high mountain ranges cross the north and centre. Mount Troödos (6,406 feet), in the middle of Cyprus, was

in Greek days called Olympus, the haunt of the gods. The rivers are only mountain torrents. The island abounds in ruins of old cities and temples, but was in a state of great poverty and neglect when British rule was established. A railway has now been made from the port of Famagusta, on the east coast, to the capital, Nicosia, in the centre of the island, and across to the west coast. Larnaca, on the south-east, is another port. Cyprus produces for export corn, wine, cotton, silk, fruit, and sponges, and it is becoming more prosperous. The colony is ruled by a Governor, with an Executive Council and a Legislative Council of six officials and twelve elected members, three being chosen by the Mohammedans. The British Parliament has to make a grant in aid of the revenue, because Cyprus is as yet too poor to pay the heavy Turkish tribute in full.

2. The Atlantic.

Bermuda.

In the North Atlantic Great Britain owns Bermuda, a group of coral islands and reefs lying 580 miles east of Cape Hatteras, on the mainland of America, and about 800 miles distant from Halifax and from the Bahamas. They were sighted by and named after the Spanish sailor Bermudez in 1515, and were rediscovered in 1609 by Sir George Somers, who was wrecked there on his way to Virginia, and after whom they were long called the Somers Islands. It was colonized soon after by the Virginia Company. The ten inhabited islands of the group have a total area of twenty square miles, and a population of 18,000, a third of whom are white.

On Main Island, the largest, stands the capital, Hamilton. St. George Island lies to the north of it, and a fortified channel between them leads to Ireland Island, which is used as a naval station and dockyard. Bermuda is celebrated for its mild and even climate, and is a popular resort of American tourists. It is ruled by a Governor, always a distinguished General, with a Legislative Council of three official and six unofficial members, and an elected House of Assembly.

Ascension.

In the South Atlantic are the lonely British islands of Ascension, St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha, the Falklands, and South Georgia. Ascension lies in mid-ocean, 800 miles from the West African coast. It is a mass of volcanic rock, twenty-seven square miles in area, which rises steeply from the sea to a height of nearly 3,000 feet. It was sighted by a sixteenth-century Portuguese sailor on Ascension Day, and thus gained its name. It was first occupied in 1815 by Great Britain, so that it should not be used by any would-be rescuers of Napoleon from his prison at St. Helena, 800 miles to the south-east. The rock is commanded by a naval officer with a party of seamen, and, as if it were a ship, is under the control of the Admiralty. Ascension is now chiefly used as a health-resort for soldiers serving on the West Coast of Africa, and it exports turtles.

St. Helena.

St. Helena is a larger volcanic rock, so named by the Portuguese because it was sighted on St. Helena's Day. It was occupied by the Dutch in 1645 as a place of call for their East India merchantmen, but was used by the English East India

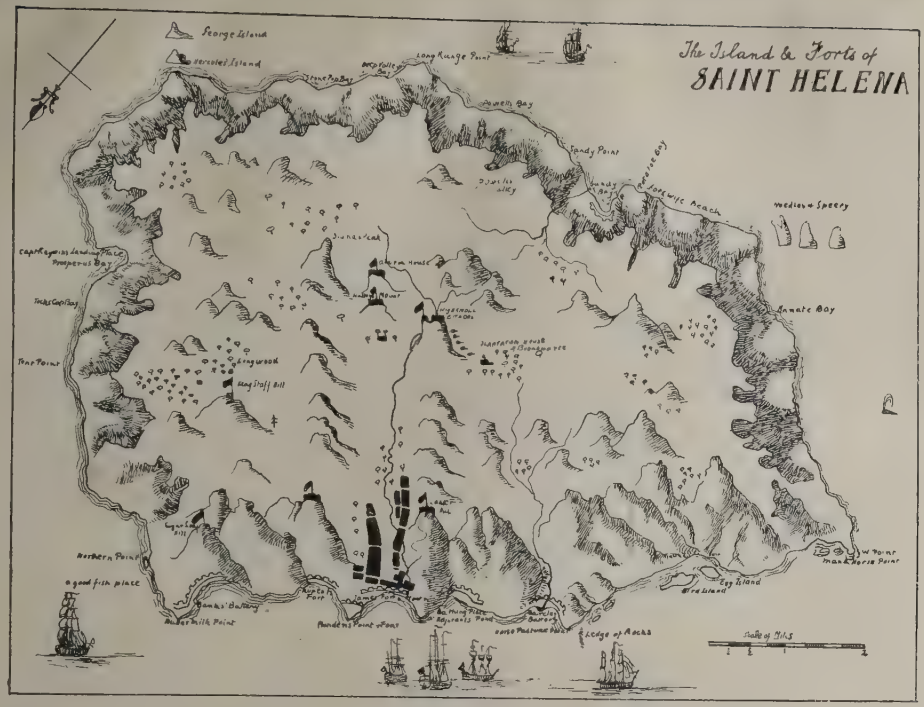
Company from 1651, and, after some fighting, was definitely given to them in 1673. It is chiefly famous as the place of Napoleon's captivity from 1815 to his death, in 1821. During the South African War, it served as a prison for captured Boers. The island has an area of forty-seven square miles, equal to that of Jersey, and its inland valleys are fertile and healthy. But since the opening of the Suez Canal diverted the course of the Eastern trade, St. Helena has lost its main source of livelihood, because few ships now call there. The population has fallen to 3,500, as there is little work for them, except in agriculture and the flax fibre industry. The little colony is ruled by a Governor.

Tristan da Cunha.

Far to the south, midway between Cape Town and the River Plate, is the desolate island group of Tristan da Cunha, another Portuguese discovery. Like Ascension, it was occupied in 1815 as an outpost of St. Helena, but was soon abandoned. A few old sailors and other adventurers live on the main island, which rises to the height of 7,600 feet, amid stormy and dangerous waters. Gough Island, a desert isle 300 miles to the south-east, is also nominally British.

The Falkland Islands.

Two thousand miles to the south-west of Tristan da Cunha are the Falkland Islands, which lie 500 miles east of the Straits of Magellan. They were discovered by the English sailor Davis in 1592. Bougainville in the eighteenth century established a short-lived French colony there, and some British settlers stayed for a few years, despite the hostility of Spain. Great Britain annexed the group in 1832 as a whaling-station. The chief



MAP OF THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA, DATED 1815.

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islands are East Falkland and West Falkland, somewhat larger than an average English county. The total area of the group is about 6,500 square miles, and the population is only 2,200. The islands are mostly bare and treeless moorland, suitable only for sheep-grazing. The winters are cold and the summers wet. Nevertheless the colony is not unprosperous, and pays its way by means of its export of wool. The capital is Port Stanley, a village on the east coast of East Falkland, where steamers call. The Falklands are ruled by a Governor, with two nominated Councils. Eight hundred miles to the east is the ice-bound archipelago of South Georgia, a dependency of the Falklands, which was annexed by Captain Cook, and is used as a whaling-station. The Antarctic islands of the South Shetlands and the South Orkneys are also nominally British.

3. The Indian Ocean.

Mauritius.

In the Indian Ocean, Mauritius is the chief British outpost. This beautiful mountainous island lies 500 miles east of Madagascar, on the sea-route from South Africa to India. The Portuguese discovered it, but the island was first occupied by the Dutch as a place of call in 1598, and was named after the Stadtholder, Maurice of Nassau. When the Dutch abandoned it in 1712, the French East India Company took Mauritius, and the French Government, on annexing the island in 1767, changed its name to Isle de France. Under French rule it was used as a naval base for the war against the British in India, and flourished on the profits of the privateers who

sallied from its harbours to attack British East Indiamen. At last it was captured by a British squadron in 1810, and was retained at the peace, under its old Dutch name. The white population is still largely French by race and Roman Catholic by religion, and the laws are based on the French Code. But Mauritius is now mainly an Indian colony. The Indians imported to work the sugar-plantations since 1834, when the slaves were freed, have multiplied so that two-thirds of the present population of 370,000 are of Indian origin. Sugar and its products form almost the whole of the exports, though its aloe-fibre and vanilla are of increasing value to the island. The capital and chief port is Port Louis, on the west coast. In summer the wealthier classes migrate to Curepipe, in the central hills. A railway runs almost round the island. Mauritius is a Crown colony, ruled by a Governor, with an Executive Council and a Legislative Council of eight officials, nine official nominees, and ten elected members.

Rodrigues and the Chagos.

Among a number of small islands which are dependencies of Mauritius, the chief are Rodrigues, 350 miles to the east, and the Chagos group, 1,100 miles to the north-east. Rodrigues is a lofty volcanic island, with about 3,000 inhabitants. It is healthy and very fertile. Diego Garcia, the chief of the Chagos, or Oil Islands, is a coral atoll, enclosing a very spacious natural harbour; but it is seldom visited by ships.

The Seychelles.

The Seychelles are a group of numerous small islands, 600 miles north of Madagascar, and 900 miles east of Zanzibar. The Amirante and Aldabra groups

to the west and south, are included with them in one colony. The chief island, Mahé, is named after Mahé de Labourdonnais, French Governor of Mauritius, who annexed it in 1743; but the group was named after a French Finance Minister. Mahé was captured by a British warship in 1794, and the islands were governed from Mauritius after 1810 till 1903, when they became a separate colony. Mahé is somewhat larger than Jersey, and has a high mountain range across its centre. The capital is Victoria, which has a good harbour with a naval coaling-station. The Seychelles produce cocoa-nuts, vanilla, tortoise-shell, and guano, and are prosperous, though the population is only 22,000. They are ruled by a Governor, with two nominated Councils.

In the east of the Indian Ocean are the Cocos-Keeling Islands, on the steamer route from Ceylon to Australia, and Christmas Island, noted for its phosphate deposits, which are administered as dependencies of the Straits Settlements (see p. 336).

4. The Pacific Ocean.

The chief of the many island possessions of Britain in the Western Pacific is the Fiji group, the capital of which, Suva, is 1,500 miles east of Brisbane, Queensland, and 1,150 miles north of Auckland, New Zealand. Tasman sighted the islands, Captain Cook visited them; but it was reserved for Wesleyan missionaries, after 1835, to civilize Fiji. During the American Civil War, the demand for cotton led white planters to settle in Fiji, and in

Fiji.

1871 they set up a Constitution, with a Parliament, under the leading native chief Thakombau as King. The Constitution did not work; and the British Government in 1874 agreed to annex the islands. Fiji includes about 200 islands, with a total area of 7,400 square miles, equal to that of Wales. But nine-tenths of this total belongs to Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, two large volcanic islands which are noted for their fine scenery and fertile soil. On the southern coast of Viti Levu is the capital, Suva, a busy port and coaling-station. Fiji is a thriving colony, which exports sugar, copra or dried cocoa-nut kernels, and fruit. But, like Mauritius, it owes much of its prosperity to Indian labourers, who are fast replacing the aborigines. The Fijian population, now about 87,000, is not half what it was fifty years ago. But the Indians, of whom there were only a few hundreds in 1880, now number 33,000, out of a total white and coloured population of 131,000. Fiji is ruled as a Crown colony by a Governor, who is also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. The Legislative Council includes ten official members, six elected white members, and two native members. The little island of Rotumah, 250 miles to the north, is a dependency of Fiji. Unlike the Fijians, the Rotumah natives are of the pure Polynesian type, with fair skins and straight hair. To the south and west of Fiji the natives are chiefly Melanesians, with dark skins and frizzy hair, as in New Guinea.

The New Hebrides.

West of Fiji lie the New Hebrides, which are under the joint protection of Great Britain and France, for France owns the large island of New Caledonia,

farther west, and has some colonists in these islands. They are fertile, but unhealthy, and many of the natives are still cannibals. Formerly they were recruited for the Queensland sugar-plantations, and are known as Kanakas. Vila, on the island of Efate, is the chief town and centre of government. The group is somewhat smaller than Fiji.

The Solomon Islands.

To the north-west of Fiji lie the Santa Cruz Islands, and beyond them the Solomon Islands, most of which are British, though the western islands nearest to New Guinea are German. These lofty volcanic islands are noted for their good scenery, their bad climate, and their fierce cannibal inhabitants. Nevertheless, the white settlers are increasing, and cocoanuts are being planted. The island of Tulagi is the headquarters of the British Resident Commissioner. To the north of Fiji are the Union, Ellice, and Gilbert groups of innumerable islets, with peaceful natives who trade in copra.

Tonga.

Turning now due east of Fiji, we come to Tonga, or the Friendly Islands, 200 miles away, a coral group with some volcanoes. The natives are of the Polynesian type, and are mostly Christians. Tonga is a native kingdom, which gained notoriety by its religious disputes, in which an ex-missionary, acting as Prime Minister, took the lead. The British Government intervened, and at last, in 1900, proclaimed a protectorate over Tonga, which has since been at peace.

Pitcairn Island.

In the South Pacific, midway between Australia and America, is the lonely islet of Pitcairn, which was colonized in 1780 by some of the mutineers of H.M.S. *Bounty*. The crew of this vessel, on the

voyage home from Tahiti, rose against their stern captain, Bligh, who afterwards was Governor of New South Wales (see p. 189), and there also provoked a revolt. Bligh and his faithful followers were set adrift, while the mutineers sailed back to Tahiti. The ringleader, Christian, and eight others, with their native wives, disappeared into the remote Pacific, and their descendants, with one survivor of the mutiny, were found at Pitcairn in 1808. The community were removed, at their own desire, to Norfolk Island in 1856, but half of them soon went back to their old home. There are now about 150 people, governing themselves in a little Parliament, at this far-distant outpost of the Empire.

The Pacific Cable.

In the centre of the Pacific, east and north-east of Tonga, are numerous British islands administered by the Dominion of New Zealand (see p. 216). Others farther north are supervised by the High Commissioner at Suva. The most important is Fanning Island, a coral atoll which is used as a station for the Pacific cable from Vancouver to Fiji and Australia, with a branch from Norfolk Island to New Zealand. This cable, which was laid at the joint expense of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, forms an alternative to the cables laid by private enterprise from the mother-country, by way of the Indian Ocean, to Australia.

NELSON'S FIGHTING SWORD.

CONCLUSION

IMPERIAL UNITY

Problems

THE chief problem of the future is how to strengthen the bonds of friendship which unite the many communities whose history and condition have now been described. Another problem is, how they may best co-operate for the common good of the Empire to which they all belong, and from which they all derive benefit. A third problem is raised by the great variety of laws in force in different Dominions and colonies. It is thought, for instance, that the laws as to trade-marks and patents, public companies and shipping, might be substantially the same throughout the Empire, for the convenience and security of traders. A fourth problem is that of Imperial trade. Some urge that the ideal should be Free Trade within the Empire, as within Canada or Australia or South Africa, with a tariff on goods from without the Empire; while others are satisfied with the idea of Preference, such as the self-governing colonies have given to British goods by taxing them more lightly than foreign goods. Then there is the problem of improving and quickening the means of communication between the several parts of the Empire, by giving public aid to steam-

ship companies, laying more cables, setting up wireless telegraphy systems, and so forth. All these and kindred problems await solution.

The Imperial Conference.

The chief step taken towards Imperial unity has been the establishment of an Imperial Conference, to be held every four years, with the British Prime Minister at its head, and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions as regular members. Five Colonial Conferences have been held. The first assembled in London at Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887, and gave special attention to Colonial Defence, especially in Australasia. The second, held at Ottawa in 1894 by the Dominion Government, brought forward the question of Imperial Preference, and led to the laying of the Pacific cable. The third Conference met in London in 1897, at the time of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and discussed Imperial questions of Defence and Trade. The fourth Conference, held in London in 1902, resulted in an increase of the contributions made by the self-governing colonies, except Canada, to the upkeep of the navy. The fifth and last Conference, which assembled in London in 1907, and included the Prime Minister of the new Transvaal colony, was the most important of all, because it decided that the Conference — henceforth termed " Imperial " — should become a regular institution.

An Imperial Staff.

In the intervals between the meetings of the Conference, a permanent secretarial staff in the Colonial Office has to keep the Dominion Governments informed of the development of questions which have been discussed, or are likely to be discussed, at the Conference. This staff is a kind of intelligence de-

partment for the self-governing States of the Empire, under the direction of the Colonial Secretary. Matters that were once apt to be overlooked or forgotten will now, it is thought, be kept before the notice of all the Governments concerned.

Imperial Defence.

Meanwhile, more definite arrangements have been made for the defence of the Empire. The naval provisions made by Canada and Australasia have been noticed above (pp. 394-5). In regard to military defence, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, have recently improved their systems, with the advice of distinguished British officers. It is intended that in future a high military official from the War Office shall spend most of his time in regular inspections of the British forces overseas, except in India, and in this way the different defensive forces, though subject in the Dominions to local control, may be kept up to the same standard, so that they may act together if need be.

Imperial Education

Apart from these high matters of policy, there is much to be done in promoting throughout the Empire a closer study of its history and its wonderful resources, and in stimulating interest in its welfare among young and old. This work has been taken up by the League of the Empire, a non-political society which has members in every Dominion, in India, and in every Crown colony and protectorate, and enjoys the friendly encouragement of the authorities. In regard to Imperial education, teachers all over the Empire have been brought into touch by means of the League; and though the many schools and Universities cannot, and should not, be all of one pattern, it may be hoped that they

will all be imbued with the same Imperial enthusiasm, and that their scholars, though of many races, languages, and religions, will all learn to love the Empire whose strength and soundness are the best securities for the peace of the world.

VICTORIA CROSS MEDAL,
FOUNDED 1856.

APPENDIX

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE EMPIRE

In the following table are given some of the more important dates in the history of the Empire. Special attention is directed to the doings of the British overseas, and only a few of the more notable events at home are included in the table. The divisions correspond roughly to the successive periods in which we had to face and overcome the hostility of Portugal and Spain, Holland and France, in building up the Empire.

1. Portuguese and Spanish Colonial Period.

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1487. Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope -	243
1492. Columbus discovers the West Indies -	344
1493. Pope Alexander VI.'s Bull - - -	39
1496-7. John Cabot discovers Newfoundland	35, 139, 173
1497. Vasco da Gama, sailing round the Cape, sights Natal - - - -	254
1498. Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut - -	299
1511. Albuquerque captures Malacca - -	335
1534-5. Cartier sails up the St. Lawrence - -	139
1535. Wales incorporated with England - -	83
1558. Loss of Calais - - - -	37
Accession of Queen Elizabeth - -	37
1567. Hawkins at San Juan de Ulua - -	39

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1577-80. Drake's voyage round the world - 39
1580. Phillp II. of Spain annexes Portugal - 40
1583. Gilbert plants a colony in Newfoundland - 40
1585. Ralegh attempts to colonise Virginia - 40
1588. The Spanish Armada - - - 40

2. The Dutch Colonial Period.

1595. Ralegh's first voyage to Guiana - - 348
1600. East India Company founded - - 40
1602. Dutch East India Company's settlement in Ceylon - - - - - 331
1603. James I. unites English and Scottish Crowns 62
1607. Virginia again colonized - - - 41
1608. Quebec founded - - - - 140
1612. English factory at Surat - - - 41
1616. Hartog discovers Western Australia - 184
1618. African Company formed - - - 372
1620. Sailing of the *Mayflower* - - - 41

3. Anglo-Dutch Colonial Rivalry.

1623. "Massacre" of Amboyna - - - 300
St. Kitts colonized - - - - 354
1627. Barbados colonized - - - - 357
1629. Charter of Massachusetts Company - - 42
1639. Madras founded - - - - 41
1640. East India Company's settlement in Bengal 41
Dutch capture Malacca - - - 336
1642. Montreal founded - - - - 140
Tasmania and New Zealand discovered 184-5
1649. Cromwell subdues Ireland - - - 43
1650-1. Cromwell subdues Scotland - - 43
1651. The Commonwealth's Navigation Act - 44
1652. Dutch found Cape Town - - - 244
1652-4. First war between England and Holland - 44
1655. Jamaica captured from Spain - - 349
1658. Dutch take Ceylon - - - - 331
1662. Bombay acquired - - - - 301

4. Anglo-French Colonial Rivalry.

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1674.	French at Pondicherry	301
1686.	English settlement on site of Calcutta	301
1688.	The English Revolution	44
1690-2.	Ireland subdued	46
1698.	Fort William in Bengal founded	301
1699.	Dampier visits Western Australia	185
1702-13.	War of Spanish Succession	45
1704.	Gibraltar and Minorca captured	395
1707.	Union of England and Scotland	46
	Death of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzib	
1713.	Treaty of Utrecht : Nova Scotia acquired	47, 141
1732.	Georgia colonized	47
1738.	Kay invents the flying-shuttle	92
1739.	War with Spain	48
1740-8.	War of Austrian Succession	48
1745-6.	Jacobite rebellion	48
1746.	Madras taken by French	302
1748.	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle : Madras restored	302
1751.	Clive's defence of Arcot	302
1754.	French build Fort Duquesne	141
1756.	The Black Hole of Calcutta	303
1756-63.	The Seven Years' War	49
1757.	Clive's victory at Plassey	49
1758.	Louisbourg captured	142
1759.	Wolfe's victory at Quebec	49, 143
1760.	Coote's victory at Wandewash	49
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1762.	Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago captured	359, 361
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5. British Colonial Supremacy.

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1765.	The Stamp Act	56
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1772.	Warren Hastings Governor of Bengal	304
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1777.	Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga	59
1778.	France allied with Americans	59
1779-83.	Siege of Gibraltar	395
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1781.	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown	61
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1785.	Cartwright invents the power-loom	92
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